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CONTENTS.

Memoirs of Mr P. COLLINSON 57.

OPIUM a cure for a mortification 60.

An examination of the word THOUGHT 62.

Propoſals for increaſing our trade with IRELAND 63.

BRITAIN's rights againſt the claims of AMERICA. Of the declaratory act 65. Of the ſupremacy ib. Inſtances in K. William's reign 66. in Q. Anne's and K. George I. & II's reigns 66, 7. On taxation 68. Inſtances from Ch. II. to Geo. II. 68, 9.

A CALM ANSWER to Mr Weſley 69.

CALMING THE SEA moralized 72.

PARLIAMENT. Gov. Penn's examination 72. On the petition of the congreſs 74. Lords on the American prohibitory bill 76. Commons on the motion to inform who adviſed the American meaſures 79. On Mr Burke's motion for a bill to compoſe the troubles in America 80.

AMERICA. Gen. Lee to Capt. Kennedy 86. An anſwer to Col. L. 87. Gen. Lee to Gen. Burgoyne 88. An oath impoſed by Gen. Lee 89. Indians ſolicited 90. Operations in Virginia ib. A notice to New York from the Admiral 93. Captures in Canada ib. The provincials repulſed at Quebec 94. Skirmiſhes 95. Tarring and feathering ib. Tory act 96. Congreſs adjourned ib. King's forces in America ib.

POETRY. On friendſhip 97. Ode to inſpiration 98. Inſcription for Gen. Montgomery's cenotaph ib. On the Chaiſe-pin contrivance ib. To the females of the feather'd choir ib.

BOOKS. Plaidoyer ſur la validité d'un mariage Proteſtant 99. Price on civil liberty, &c. 100.

HISTORICAL AFFAIRS. A pardon offered to deſerters 106. A ſubſcription for relief of clergy in North America ib. Memorial of the Weſt-India planters to the miniſtry ib. The Earl of Rochford proſecuted by Mr Sayre 107. A ſevere ſtorm 107, 8.

—— Scottiſh Affairs 107, 8.

MEMOIRS of Mr PETER COLLINSON.

THE ſatisfaction ariſing from the view of a life continually employed in commendable purſuits, and in acts of laſting and extenſive utility, is not a ſmall one. We participate afreſh in every ſocial action of the friend whom we loved whilſt living, and pay that tribute to his name which love and friendſhip demand,—a grateful and honourable remembrance.

The juſt eſteem which Mr Peter Collinſon had acquired, among the chief promoters of *Natural Hiſtory* in moſt parts of the world, and among men of underſtanding in general, in every part of uſeful ſcience, muſt render any apology unneceſſary for exhibiting ſome account of him.

Mr Peter Collinſon was the great-grandſon of Peter Collinſon, who lived on his paternal eſtate called *Hugal Hall*, near Windermere Lake, ten miles from Kendal in Weſtmoreland. He was born in the year 1693; and whilſt a youth he diſcovered a ſtrong attachment to natural hiſtory. Inſects, and their ſeveral metamorphoſes, employed many of thoſe hours which at his time of life are moſtly ſpent by others in very different purſuits. Plants likewiſe engaged his attention: he began early to make a collection of dried ſpecimens, and had acceſs to the beſt gardens in the neighbourhood of London. In the year 1740 he was conſidered among thoſe who were beſt acquainted with botany and natural hiſtory in England,—his collection was very large,—the

ſpecimens well choſen,—his botanic garden contained many curious plants not to be met with in any other, and the number of ſuch kept increaſing to the laſt period of his life.

The firſt-rate naturaliſts of the age, Drs Derham, Woodward, Dale, Lloyd, Sir Charles Wager, and Sir Hans Sloane, were among his friends.—He was one of thoſe few who viſited Sir Hans at all times familiarly, and continued ſo to do to the lateſt period; and among the great variety of articles which formed his friend's ſuperb collection, ſmall was the number of thoſe with whoſe hiſtory Mr Collinſon was not well acquainted. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, Dec. 12. 1728, and was one of the moſt diligent and uſeful members of that reſpectable body, not only in ſupplying them with many curious obſervations himſelf, but in promoting and preſerving an extenſive correſpondence with learned foreigners in all countries, and on every uſeful ſubject,—and thus excited others to contribute largely to the inſtruction and entertainment of the ſociety.

Indeed he ſuffered nothing uſeful in either art or ſcience to eſcape him.—There were but few men of learning and ingenuity of all profeſſions who were not of his acquaintance:—he acquainted the learned and ingenious in diſtant parts of the globe with the diſcoveries and improvements in natural hiſtory in this country, and received the like information from the moſt eminent perſons in almoſt every other [xxix. 74.]. His correſpondence with Cadwallader Colden, Eſq; of New York, and the celebrated Dr Franklin of Philadelphia, furniſh many inſtances of the benefit reſulting from his attention to all improvements. To him Dr Franklin communicated his firſt eſſays on electricity. Their minds in this reſpect were congenial, ever intent upon promoting public good.

Perhaps in ſome future period, the account he procured of the management of ſheep in Spain [xxvi. 361.], in reſpect to their migrations from the mountains to the plains, and their ſtated returns, may not be conſidered among the leaſt of the benefits accruing from his extenſive and inquiſitive correſpondence. When America is better peopled, the mountainous parts more habitable, the plains unloaded of their vaſt foreſts, and cultivated, the fineſt ſheep in the world may poſſibly cover the plains of Carolina, Georgia, and the Floridas, in the winter months, and retreat to the mountains as the ſummer-heats increaſe, and dry up the herbage. Probably it might be practiſed even in this iſland to advantage; with this difference, that the higheſt ground ſhould be choſen for the winter-reſidence of theſe animals, proper ſhelter being made for them, and the wetter low lands left for ſummer.

Mr Collinſon's converſation was chearful, and uſefully entertaining:—it generally turned to ſome intereſting diſquiſition, or imparting ſome beneficial information. With ſome of the moſt eminent perſonages of the kingdom, as diſtinguiſhed by their taſte in planting and horticulture as by their rank, he frequently ſpent a few days at their ſeats, imparting many advantageous hints as to the improvements they were deſigning. By his extenſive obſervation and experience of the effects of different methods of cultivation; what ſoil, what aſpect beſt ſuited different plants and trees; how beſt to cover incurable defects; how to improve beauties, &c.—he often prevented young planters from committing capital miſtakes, rectified others who had been miſled, and prevailed upon many of his friends, and young people of fortune, to embark in this rational amuſement, and to perſevere in it, greatly to their own emolument, and the laſting advantage of their country.

Planting, he uſed to ſay, and gardening, ſupply a fund of entertainment the moſt laſting and reaſonable of any occupation in this life; pleaſures not to be purchaſed. The trees which we ourſelves have planted, the fruits we have raiſed, the plants we have cultivated, ſeem to be like our children, a kind of new creation; their ſhade, their taſte, their fragrance, and their beauties, affect us with a richer repaſt than any others. What a pleaſing ſcene, would he obſerve, lies open to a young man of fortune devoted to ſuch amuſements! Each ſucceeding year produces new ſhades, other fruits, freſh beauties, and brings beſides moſt certain profit. To behold the riſing groves, barrenneſs made fertile, our country improved, ourſelves made uſeful and happy, and poſterity enriched! When on this favourite ſubject, a very natural reflection often eſcaped him, That he ſeldom knew a man poſſeſſed of a taſte for ſuch pleaſures,

pleaſures, who was not at the ſame time temperate and virtuous. And indeed he had a right to make the obſervation; for he had the ſatisfaction of reckoning among his moſt intimate friends, men of the moſt amiable and unblemiſhed characters in all ſtations, parties, and diſtinctions.

Nor was he only employed in promoting this taſte amongſt his friends, in enlarging their views, correcting and refining their judgement, but alſo in furniſhing them with the means of increaſing their plantations; and it is but doing juſtice to his memory, to mention, that he was the firſt who introduced the great variety of ſeeds and ſhrubs, which are now the principal ornaments of every garden; and that it was owing to his indefatigable induſtry, that ſo many perſons of the firſt diſtinction are now enabled to behold groves tranſplanted from the weſtern continent, flouriſhing ſo luxuriantly in their ſeveral domains, as if they were already become indigenous to Britain.

His buſineſs in the mercantile way was chiefly to North America and the Weſt Indies, the former particularly. He had peruſed every performance that was wrote reſpecting the natural hiſtory and produce of all our own ſettlements, and indeed of all the European colonies in the new world. This enabled him to make inquiries after every thing that was curious and uſeful, and brought him acquainted with the moſt intelligent people who came over from America: his inquiries raiſed ſome curioſity in thoſe countries, and excited a taſte for natural hiſtory and botanical reſearches. It perhaps may ſafely be ſaid, that every thing of this ſort that has appeared in thoſe parts of the world, was chiefly owing to his encouragement. That eminent naturaliſt, John Bartram, may almoſt be ſaid to have been created ſuch by Mr Collinſon's aſſiſtance: he firſt recommended the collecting of ſeeds, and afterwards aſſiſted in diſpoſing of them in this country, and conſtantly excited him to perſevere in inveſtigating the plants of America; which he has executed with indefatigable labour thro' a long courſe of years, and with amazing ſucceſs.

The quantities of new ſeeds he received from America, not only ſupplied his own garden with every thing that was curious, but furniſhed him with the means of procuring others, in exchange, from other parts of the globe. He had ſome correſpondents in almoſt every nation in Europe; ſome in Aſia, and even in Pekin; who all tranſmitted to him the moſt valuable ſeeds they could collect, in return for the treaſures of America. In this exchange of good offices, there is abundant cauſe to believe, no man ever exceeded him in reſpect to punctuality, care, or generoſity; few had ever more intelligent correſpondence, or ſucceeded better in enriching this country with the vegetable produce of every other, that could add either to its advantage or ornament.

The great Linnæus, during his reſidence in England, contracted an intimate friendſhip with him, which was reciprocally increaſed by good offices, and continued to the laſt without any diminution. Mr Collinſon frequently prompted the Americans to purſue improvements alike beneficial to themſelves and to his country. He often urged the benefit, nay neceſſity, of cultivating flax, hemp, wine, ſilk, and other products. In moſt of the northern and ſouthern colonies, there are a variety of native grapes growing wild in the woods, and thriving among the trees and buſhes for their ſupport. Theſe yield fruit in plenty of different kinds, and many of them are capable of producing a rich good wine. It would be eaſy in autumn to collect a ſufficient quantity of the fruit to make trial of the wine. A few have done it with ſucceſs; and the fault ſeems not ſo much in the fruit, as want of ſkill or care in making the wine. It is certainly now high time for the Americans to apply themſelves diligently to cultivate their native produce; and the meaſures of adminiſtration have at length forced them to do it, whether they choſe it or not.

He was a member of the ſociety of Antiquarians from its firſt inſtitution, and ſupplied them often with many curious articles of intelligence and obſervation reſpecting this and other countries: — for where-ever he was, or however ſeemingly engaged, nothing eſcaped his notice, if it appeared likely to be uſeful or inſtructive. He had no greater ambition than to collect what knowledge he could, and to render this knowledge ſubſervient as much as poſſible to the good of mankind. He lived many years in great domeſtic happineſs; and his family took

the ſame bias, and aided his purſuits. He had a pleaſing and ſocial aſpect, — his temper open and communicative, — capable of feeling for diſtreſs, and ready to relieve. He roſe very early, and whilſt in the country his time was almoſt conſtantly employed in his garden, obſerving and aſſiſting the operations of nature, or in the ſtudy of other parts of phyſical knowledge, which contributed to his health and pleaſure.

He was fond of fruit to an extreme, and of flowers a perpetual admirer: he was ſeldom without them in his houſe, from the early ſnowdrop to the autumn cyclamen. He would often relate with pleaſure the aſtoniſhing advancement made in his time in horticulture; gave inſtances of many plants, which, at their firſt introduction, would not bear our winters without ſhelter, and now endured almoſt our hardeſt froſts; ſo that foreigners ſtood amazed at the power of vegetation in this country, and the happy temperature we enjoy, notwithſtanding the unmerited murmurs of the unthinking and injudicious againſt a climate the moſt favourable of all others to the real happineſs of mankind.

He hath left behind him a vaſt treaſure of dried ſpecimens of plants; and in ſpite of repeated and cruel depredations on his garden, whereby he loſt a multitude of valuable plants and ſhrubs, and had many others deſtroyed by the villains in the act of plunder, he has nevertheleſs left a ſmall treaſure of rare plants, in greater perfection than can be ſeen perhaps in any other ſpot.

Excepting ſome attacks of the gout, in general he enjoyed perfect health, and great equality of ſpirits; bearing thoſe trials which are incident to man with fortitude and reſignation.

In ſuch a courſe he arrived at his 75th year; when being on a viſit to Lord Petre in Eſſex, for whom he had a ſingular regard, he was ſeized with a total ſuppreſſion of urine; which baffling every attempt to relieve it, proved fatal on the 11th of Auguſt 1768, and deprived his family, his friends, and country, of a man devoted to their intereſt and advantage. Incloſed in his will was found a paper, importing, "That he hoped he ſhould leave behind him a good name, which he valued more than riches; that he had endeavoured not to live uſeleſsly; and that all his days he conſtantly aimed to be a friend to mankind." Such indeed he was, to the utmoſt of his ability; and he may juſtly be conſidered as a latent ſpring to many important improvements, as well as one of the principal promoters of natural hiſtory in general, and of horticulture in particular, in the age in which he lived.

Opium found to be an efficacious remedy in a certain ſpecies of mortification.

From Pott's Chirurgical Obſervations.

THE powers and virtues of the Peruvian bark are known to almoſt every practitioner in phyſic and ſurgery. Among the many caſes in which its merit is particularly and juſtly celebrated, are the diſtempers called *gangrene* and *mortification*: its general power of ſtopping the one, and reſiſting the other, have made no inconſiderable addition to the ſucceſs of the chirurgic art. But ſtill there is a particular ſpecies even of theſe, in which this noble medicine moſt frequently fails: I mean, that particular kind, which, beginning at the extremity of one or more of the ſmall toes, does, in more or leſs time, paſs on to the foot and ancle, and ſometimes to a part of the leg, and, in ſpite of all the aid of phyſic and ſurgery, moſt commonly deſtroys the patient.

It is very unlike to the mortification from inflammation, to that from external cold, from ligature, or bandage, or to that which proceeds from any known and viſible cauſe; and this as well in its attack as in its proceſs. In ſome few inſtances it makes its appearance with little or no pain; but in by much the majority of theſe caſes, the patient feels great uneaſineſs through the whole foot, and joint of the ancle, particularly in the night, even before theſe parts ſhow any mark of diſtemper, or before there is any other than a ſmall diſcoloured ſpot on the end of one of the little toes.

It generally makes its firſt appearance on the inſide, or at the extremity, of one of the ſmaller toes, by a ſmall, black, or bluiſh ſpot: from this ſpot the cuticle is always found to be detached, and the ſkin under it to be of a dark red colour.

If the patient has lately cut his nails, or corns, it is moſt frequently, though very unjuſtly, ſet to the account of ſuch operation.

Its progreſs in different ſubjects, and under different circumſtances, is different: in ſome it is ſlow, and long in paſſing

paſſing from toe to toe, and from thence to the foot and ancle; in others its progreſs is rapid, and horridly painful: it generally begins on the inſide of each ſmall toe, before it is viſible either on its under or upper part; and when it makes its attack on the foot, the upper part of it firſt ſhews its diſtempered ſtate by tumefaction, change of colour, and ſometimes by veſication; but where-ever it is, one of the firſt marks of it is a ſeparation or detachment of the cuticle.

Each ſex is liable to it; but for one female in whom I have met with it, I think I may ſay, that I have ſeen it in, at leaſt, twenty males. I think alſo that I have much more often found it in the rich and voluptuous, than in the labouring poor; more often in great eaters, than free drinkers. It frequently happens to perſons advanced in life, but is by no means peculiar to old age. It is not, in general, preceded or accompanied by apparent diſtemperature, either of the part, or of the habit. I do not know any particular kind of conſtitution which is more liable to it than another; but, as far as my obſervation goes, I think that I have moſt frequently obſerved it to attack thoſe who have been ſubject to flying, uncertain pains in their feet, which they have called gouty; and but ſeldom in thoſe who have been accuſtomed to have the gout regularly and fairly. It has, by ſome, been ſuppoſed to ariſe from an oſſification of veſſels; but for this opinion I never could find any foundation but mere conjecture.

The common method of treating this diſtemper is, by ſpiritous fomentations, cataplaſms actually and potentially warm; by dreſſings of the digeſtive kind, as they are called, animated with warm, pungent oils and balſams, &c. and internally by the Peruvian bark.

I wiſh I could ſay, that this, which, with little alteration, has been the general practice, had been moſt frequently, or even often, ſucceſsful; but I am, from long and repeated experience, obliged to ſay that it has not.

I am ſenſible that many of my readers will be ſurpriſed at my affirming, that the Peruvian bark will not ſtop a mortification; a diſtemper in which, for ſome years, it has been regarded as ſpecific: but I muſt beg not to be miſunderſtood. I mean to confine my obſervation and my objection to this particular ſpecies of mortification, which I regard as being *ſui generis*; and under this reſtriction I muſt repeat, that I have ſeldom, if ever, ſeen the bark ſucceſsful. In all other caſes wherein it is uſed or recommended, no man has a higher opinion of it; but in this I cannot give it a praiſe which it does not deſerve.

I believe I may venture to ſay, that I have tried it as fairly, as fully, and as variouſly, as any man has or can. I have given it in the largeſt quantity, at the ſhorteſt intervals, and for the longeſt poſſible ſpace; that is, as long as the patient's life would permit: I have given it by itſelf in decoction, extract, and ſubſtance; I have combined all theſe together; I have joined it with nitre, ſal abſynth. with ſnakeroot, with confect. cardiac. with volatile ſalts, and with muſk, as different circumſtances ſeemed to require or admit: I have uſed it as fomentation, as poultice, as dreſſing; I have aſſiſted it with every thing which has been uſually thought capable of procuring or aſſiſting digeſtion: ſtill the diſtemper has continued its courſe, perhaps a little more ſlowly, but ſtill it has ended in death.

I am ſorry to rob one of our great medicines of any part of its ſuppoſed merit; but as, on the one hand, its claim in this inſtance is unjuſt; and as, on the other, I hope to add as much to the character of another, the *res medica* will be no ſufferer.

Some time ago, I had a patient labouring under this complaint, who, from antipathy, obſtinacy, or ſome other cauſe, could not be prevailed on to take bark in any form whatever. I made uſe of every argument; but to no purpoſe: fomentation, poultice, and the uſual dreſſings, were applied in the uſual manner; the diſeaſe advanced ſome days more, ſome days leſs, and, at the end of a fortnight, the ſmall toes were all completely mortified, the great one become blackiſh, the foot much ſwollen, altered in colour, and the diſeaſe ſeeming to advance with ſuch haſty ſtrides, that I ſuppoſed a very few days would determine the event. The pain in the foot and ancle was ſo great, and ſo continual, as totally to deprive the patient of ſleep. On this account, and merely to procure ſome remiſſion, I gave two grains of opium at night; which not having the deſired effect, I repeated it in the morning. Finding, during the following day, ſome advantage, I repeated

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the ſame doſe night and morning, for three days; at the end of which time the patient became quite eaſy, and the appearances on the foot and ancle were viſibly more favourable. Encouraged by this, I increaſed the quantity of the medicine, giving one grain every three or four hours, taking care to watch its narcotic effect, and to keep the belly empty by glyſters. In nine days from the firſt adminiſtration of the opium, all the tumefaction of the foot and ancle totally ſubſided, the ſkin recovered its natural colour, and all the mortified parts plainly began to ſeparate; in another week they were all looſe, and caſting off, the matter was good, and the incarnation florid.

During the whole of this time, I continued the uſe of the opium, varying its quantity, as circumſtances required, but never gave leſs than three or four grains in twenty-four hours.

When the ſloughs were all caſt off, the bones ſeparated, and I had only a clean ſore to dreſs and heal, I gradually left off the medicine.

I am very willing to acknowledge, that however well pleaſed I might be with the event of this caſe, yet I really regarded it as accidental; ſo much ſo, that having very ſoon after another opportunity, I did not care to truſt to opium alone, but joined the bark with it. The event was equally fortunate. But although I had joined the cortex with the extractum thebaicum, and did therefore attribute the ſucceſs to their united powers, yet the effect was ſo very unlike to what I had ever ſeen from the bark without opium, that I could not avoid ſeriouſly and often reflecting on it, and determined to uſe it by itſelf, whenever another opportunity ſhould offer. I did ſo, and ſucceeded in the ſame happy manner, though under the very diſagreeable circumſtances of ſeventy years of age, a broken, diſtempered conſtitution, and the diſeaſe making a haſty progreſs.

A critical examination of the word Thought, *as applied to the Fine Arts; with rules for judging of the beauties of Painting, Muſic, and Poetry.*

From the German of J. G. Sulzer.

THoughts are, generally ſpeaking, all ideas ſufficiently diſtinct to be conveyed by ſigns. When ſpeaking with a particular reference to the belles lettres and polite arts, we mean, by thoughts, the ideas which the artiſt attempts to raiſe by his performance, in contradiſtinction to the manner in which they are raiſed or expreſſed.

In works of art, thoughts are what remains of a performance when ſtripped of its embelliſhments. Thus, a poet's thoughts are what remains of his poems, independently of the verſification, and of ſome ideas merely ſerving for its decoration and improvement.

Thoughts, therefore, are the materials propoſed and applied by art to its purpoſes. The dreſs in which they appear, or the form into which they are moulded by the artiſt, is merely accidental; conſequently they are the firſt object of attention in every work of art; the ſpirit, the ſoul of a performance, which, if its thoughts are indifferent, is but of little value, and may be compared to a palace of ice, raiſed in the moſt regular form of an habitable ſtructure, but, from the nature of its materials, totally uſeleſs.

While, therefore, you are contemplating an hiſtorical picture, try to forget that it is a picture: forget the painter, whoſe magic art has, by lights and ſhades, created bodies where there are none. Fancy to yourſelf that you are actually looking at men, and then attend to their actions. Obſerve whether they are intereſting; whether the perſons expreſs thoughts and ſentiments in their faces, attitudes, and motions; whether you may underſtand the language of their airs and geſtures, and whether they tell you ſomething remarkable. If you find it not worth your while to attend to the perſons thus realiſed by your fancy, the painter has thought to little purpoſe.

Whilſt liſtening to a muſical performance, try to forget that you are hearing ſounds of an inanimate inſtrument, produced only by great and habitual dexterity of lips or fingers. Fancy to yourſelf, that you hear a man ſpeaking ſome unknown language, and obſerve whether his ſounds expreſs ſome ſentiments; whether they denote tranquillity or diſturbance of mind, ſoft or violent, joyful or grievous affections; whether they expreſs any character of the ſpeaker; and whether the dialect be noble or mean. If you cannot diſcover any of theſe requiſites, then pity the virtuoſo for having left ſo much ingenuity deſtitute of thought.

In the ſame manner we muſt alſo judge of

of poems, eſpecially of the lyric kind. That ode is valuable, which, when deprived of its poetical dreſs, ſtill affords pleaſing thoughts or images to the mind. Its real merit may beſt be diſcovered by tranſpoſing it into ſimple proſe, and depriving it of its poetical colouring. If nothing remains, that a man of ſenſe and reflection would approve, the ode, with the moſt charming harmony, and the moſt ſplendid colouring, is but a fine dreſs hung round a man of ſtraw. How greatly then are thoſe miſtaken, who conſider an exuberant fancy and a delicate ear as ſufficient qualifications for a lyric poet!

It is only, after having examined the thoughts of a performance in their unadorned ſtate, that we can pronounce whether the attire in which they have been dreſſed by art, fits and becomes them well or ill. A thought, whoſe value and merit cannot be eſtimated but from its dreſs, is, in effect, as futile and inſignificant, as a man who affects to diſplay his merit by external pomp.

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NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

Propoſals for increaſing the trade between Great Britain and Ireland; alſo for preventing the ſmuggling of wool from Ireland, and the emigration of the inhabitants of Ireland to North America. By Joſeph Tucker, D. D. Dean of Glouceſter.

THE ſouth-weſt parts of Ireland, and particularly the province of Munſter, are reckoned to be naturally the moſt fertile diſtricts in the whole kingdom; yet they are the leaſt improved, and conſequently have the feweſt inhabitants. Vaſt tracts of the beſt lands are applied to no better purpoſes at preſent than to feed ſheep and black cattle, without receiving any cultivation from art or induſtry. The cattle, when (what the Engliſh would call but) half-fat, are drove to Corke, there ſlaughtered and ſalted, and for the moſt part ſent off to France, to be bartered, either mediately, or immediately, for French wines, brandies, ſilks, teas, &c. The wool alſo finds its way into the ſame country, and never returns in any ſuch goods or merchandiſe as can be of any real benefit to Ireland. Add to this, that as one part of the native Iriſh (the ſouthern peaſants) are naturally poor and lazy, ſo the other part, the manufacturers of the north, have, of late years, been as remarkable for a reſtleſs, roving diſpoſition, never eaſy or contented till they can migrate to North America.

Now to cure both theſe evils, or at leaſt to prevent their growing worſe, and at the ſame time to increaſe the trade, ſhipping, and navigation of G. Britain, it ſeems requiſite to deviſe (if one can) ſuch a courſe of conſtant employ for the ſubjects of both kingdoms, as ſhall promote their own particular intereſt, and the public intereſt at the ſame time.

Agreeably to theſe poſitions, we come now to obſerve,

1. That England of late years hath not raiſed wheat enough for its own conſumption: moreover, that there is no proſpect, at leaſt for ſome time to come, of its receiving any ſupplies from North America; at the ſame time that it will be incumbent on us to ſend conſiderable ſtores to feed the inhabitants of the ſugar-iſlands. All theſe reaſons operating together, plainly prove, that more lands ſhould be put under wheat than have uſually been; or at leaſt, that the wheat-crops on the ſame lands ought to come more ſpeedily round than at preſent, if that can be done conſiſtent with good huſbandry.

2. England wants alſo a greater quantity of oats, beans, and peaſe, than ſhe can now raiſe to public advantage. The demand for oats riſes every day, in proportion to the increaſe of the number of horſes; and the ſame may be ſaid of beans; — not to mention, that greater quantities of beans, and of peaſe likewiſe, will be conſumed by the negroes in the ſugar-iſlands, in proportion to the ſcarcity of rice, and of other food, uſually ſent from North America to theſe iſlands.

On the other hand, it is alſo obſervable, 1. That the climate of Ireland, being too moiſt and wet during the autumn and winter months, is not ſo favourable for the growth of wheat as that of England. But,

2. Both the climate and ſoil of Ireland will ſerve very well for lent corn, ſuch as oats, beans, and peaſe: which crops are not generally ſowed till the ſun, and the ſeaſon of the year, have dried up the moiſture, and rendered the lands fitter for tillage.

Propoſed therefore, 1. That oats, beans, and peaſe, the growth of Ireland, be admitted into any port of G. Britain, at all times and ſeaſons, duty-free.

Propoſed

Propoſed alſo, 2. That the bounty hitherto granted to America for the raiſing of hemp, be withdrawn from that ungrateful country, and be beſtowed on Ireland; where there are lands, as it is ſaid, and particularly in the county of Tipperary, very good and proper for the growth of hemp.

Good conſequence reſulting to Great Britain from this ſcheme.

1. Reſpecting farming and good huſbandry, it may be obſerved, That the lands will the ſooner be brought into good order for ſowing of wheat, by means of crops of barley and clover, turnips, vetches, &c. than they could have been, had it been required to have taken crops of oats, beans, and peaſe, off of the ſame lands.

2. By having greater quantities of wheat, barley, clover, turnips, vetches, &c. than uſual, England will have more wheat to export; in which caſe the Iriſh themſelves will be enabled to become good cuſtomers; alſo more barley to make into malt, beer, and ale, for exportation; and N. B. the malt liquors of Ireland are generally very bad; more fodder for ſupporting and fattening greater numbers of ſheep and cattle, — conſequently more wool, ſkins, hides, horns, and leather, to be worked up into various manufactures, and then exported; and beſides all this, there will be more proviſion for ſupplying the manufactures, with a ſurplus to ſend abroad.

3. The ſhipping and navigation of G. Britain will be conſiderably increaſed by means of theſe double freights from G. Britain to Ireland, and from Ireland to G. Britain: ſo that if this country ſhould ſuſtain any loſs by the American defection, the loſs will be amply compenſated by the addition here propoſed. Moreover, what is above all other conſiderations of this nature, while the breed of ſailors are thus increaſed, not one ſquadron, and hardly one ſhip, will be required the more, to guard the coaſts of G. Britain and Ireland, during a time of war, on that account. Whereas all our fleets were hardly enough to protect America, at the very inſtant that the Americans were ſupplying our enemies with ſhips, guns, and ammunition to attack us, and not contributing one ſailor in fifty, for the uſe of the navy, for our ſecurity and preſervation.

4. If the ſcheme for raiſing hemp in Ireland ſhould ſucceed, (and if it ſhould not, no bounty would be paid), then new ſources of trade would be opened, extenſive in their conſequences, and leading to various other improvements, without claſhing, as far as appears, with any one article of commerce now exiſting.

Good conſequences reſulting to Ireland from this ſcheme.

1. The country will be improved, and agriculture made to flouriſh, in thoſe fertile diſtricts which are now neglected, and in a manner lie waſte. Moreover, when once the ground is broken up for hemp, oats, peaſe, and beans, the growth and cultivation of flax will naturally follow; and conſequently the linen manufacture will extend by degrees to the ſouth-weſt parts of Ireland; which is a circumſtance that will greatly facilitate the exportation of linens to foreign countries, as well as to England.

2. The poor of Ireland being thus enabled to find conſtant and beneficial employment in their country, will have neither the leiſure nor the inclination of migrating abroad, to which they are too prone at preſent.

3. Accordingly as agriculture and commerce ſhall gain ground in the ſouthern parts of Ireland, the inhabitants will multiply and increaſe in the ſame proportion; and ſuch inhabitants will not be lazy vagrants, but uſeful and induſtrious ſubjects. Now it is known by long experience, that uſeful, active, laborious, and induſtrious inhabitants, are much better diſpoſed towards embracing the Proteſtant religion, than any other claſs of men. In the petty ſtates and cantons of Switzerland, and on the borders of Germany, it is eaſy to judge, without being told, from the very face of the country, and the appearance of the inhabitants, their apparel, houſes, barns, ſtables, outhouſes, &c. whether the majority of the inhabitants are Proteſtants or Papiſts.

4. In proportion as the inhabitants of Ireland ſhall become numerous by this progreſs of agriculture and the mechanic arts, they will likewiſe become eaſy in their circumſtances, and be better clad. By being better clad, (inſtead of their preſent rags, if even they have rags to cover them), they will not only uſe all the wool of their own growth, (inſtead of ſmuggling great quantities of it to France), but alſo create a demand for rugs and blanketing, and many other articles of coarſe woollens from G. Britain.

The rights of G. Britain aſſerted, &c. [32.]

The congreſs, in a ſtrain of eloquent adulation, ſpeaks with raptures of "that illuſtrious band of diſtinguiſhed Peers and Commoners," who now declaim, argue, and proteſt, in favour of their own rebellion. It has appeared, that the act of which they moſt complain, was the manufacture of that very "illuſtrious band," encouraged by the negative oppoſition made by the Earl of Chatham; whoſe advice the band followed, as it ſoon after appeared, to their own political deſtruction. Beſides, was it not under the adminiſtration of the Earl of Chatham, in the years 1767 and 1768, though the Americans date their misfortunes from the reſignation of Mr Pitt in October 1761, that the bills impoſing internal duties, and conſequently eſtabliſhing internal taxation in America, (1° *Geo. III. ch.* 46.), were paſſed into laws? Did not the preſent adminiſtration, whoſe meaſures the congreſs affect to reprobate throughout, repeal all thoſe acts, except the duty on tea, (10° *Geo. III.*), to gratify the prejudices of the Americans, and, if poſſible, to re-eſtabliſh tranquillity in all the provinces? With what colour of reaſon, therefore, can the Americans lay the blame, either of their real or pretended grievances, on the noblemen and gentlemen now in office; and yet approve of the conduct of thoſe very perſons who paſſed the declaratory act, and followed it with bills of impoſts raiſed in the colonies?

In reprobating the declaratory act, the congreſs recur to their uſual maxim, That taxation and repreſentation are inſeparable. Though it has been already ſhewn, that they are as much repreſented as twenty-four in twenty-five of the inhabitants of G. Britain; though it has been proved, that whole provinces not repreſented, had been, for ſeveral ages, ſubjected to impoſts laid by the legiſlature; though it ſhall, hereafter, appear, that they themſelves have been uniformly taxed by the Britiſh parliament; this argument they hold forth as invincible, and found upon it their preſent reſiſtance to the ſupremacy of the parent-kingdom. In purſuing it injudiciouſly, and too far, they actually diſcover the expediency, and even neceſſity, of that ſupremacy of which they ſo loudly complain. The parliament of Great Britain, ſay they, will certainly perceive, "that an American revenue, if not diverted from the oſtenſible purpoſes for which it is raiſed, will actually lighten their own burdens, in proportion as they increaſe ours." But is it not equitable, is it not juſt, is it not neceſſary, that all the ſubjects of the empire ſhould bear, as equally as poſſible, the public burdens of the empire? Why ſhould the Americans, who have ſo largely, ſo uniformly, and ſo effectually experienced the protection of government, be the only perſons exempted from paying their ſhare of its expences? Is it either reaſonable, or ſuitable to the common uſage of nations, that thoſe who deſert their country, ſhould enjoy greater privileges than thoſe that remain? The Americans having been ſpared during the infancy of their colonies, on account of their poverty, endeavour to eſtabliſh into an inherent right what was actually an indulgence.

Though this indulgence has been a ſource of error to the more ignorant part of the Americans, there are ſurely many among them, who know, that parliament hath been uniformly accuſtomed to extend its ſupremacy over all the colonies. In matters of revenue, in commerce, in civil, in all judicial regulations, and, in ſhort, with regard to the general conſtitution of their government, the provinces of North America, till taught otherwiſe by a diſappointed faction in this kingdom, allowed, that the whole fabrick of their polity might be new-modelled and reformed by the ſuperintending power of parliament. In fact, it has been ſo new-modelled and reformed, whenever abuſes in the adminiſtration of their government, under their civil polity, or the general intereſt of the Britiſh empire, made it neceſſary for parliament to interpoſe its authority. Inſtances of this interpoſition, in both caſes, preſent themſelves in almoſt every volume of the ſtatutes, from the Reſtoration down to the preſent reign; yet the Americans falſely inſinuate, that it was in the preſent reign the exerciſe of the authority of parliament (except only in the regulation of trade) firſt commenced.

A brief recital of ſome of thoſe inſtances may throw light on a ſubject, rendered obſcure and perplexed by the prejudices of the ignorant, and the arts of deſigning men. To gain the ears of the populace, by awakening their ancient jealouſies, the Americans affect to a-

ſcribe the preſent ſyſtem of meaſures to principles of Toryiſm, which, they pretend, prevail in our councils. But, unfortunately for this part of their plan of deception, it will appear, that moſt of the acts which bind America in coercive regulations, were paſſed ſoon after the Revolution, in the reign of the very prince who brought about that great event. The Whig miniſters of K. William, perceiving that the colonies, even then, had entertained views of placing themſelves on a ground of independence on parliament, adviſed their ſovereign, and their advice now ſtands on record, to purſue meaſures, which, in their conſequence, ſhould effectually ſecure their thorough dependence on the legiſlature of this kingdom.

In conſequence of the advice given by a Whig miniſtry to a king who had mounted the throne upon Whig principles; and alſo upon the fulleſt evidence of the frauds and abuſes committed in the plantations, in violation of the act of navigation; the act 7° & 8° Will. III. *for preventing frauds, and regulating abuſes, in the plantations*, was paſſed. By that act a power was given to the commiſſioners of the treaſury and cuſtoms in England, "to eſtabliſh ports, and appoint officers, in the plantations; and thoſe officers to have the ſame authority for viſiting ſhips and goods, and entering houſes and warehouſes, as was exerciſed by the ſame officers in England."

All penalties and forfeitures were made recoverable in the courts of Weſtminſter, or in courts of admiralty in the plantations; which courts were then, for the *firſt time*, eſtabliſhed throughout all America. In any action or ſuit concerning his Majeſty's duties, the offence might be laid in any precinct or diviſion of the plantations where the ſame ſhould be alledged to have been committed, at the diſcretion of the officer or informer. All laws, by-laws, uſages, and cuſtoms, repugnant to any laws of G. Britain which relate to the plantations, or mention the ſame, are declared "illegal, null, and void." Many other reſtrictions, too tedious to be mentioned, were at the ſame time enacted and impoſed.

But it was not in matters of trade only, that parliament, during the reign of K. William, ſuperintended and controuled the colonies. The coloniſts, it was found, had encouraged pirates, in various places; and no juſtice could be obtained in their courts againſt offenders, whom they openly abetted. To remedy this ſhameful abuſe, a remarkable act was paſſed, 11° & 12° Will. III. This act aboliſhed all juriſdiction, in that caſe, in the courts in the plantations. The ſole power of trying ſuch offences, in the colonies, was veſted in commiſſioners, appointed under the great ſeal of England, or ſeal of the admiralty, according to the courſe of the admiralty, that is to ſay, without jury. The commiſſioners were alſo empowered to iſſue warrants, in any of the colonies, for arreſting ſuch pirates, or their acceſſories. They might, at diſcretion, either try the criminals in America, or ſend them to England to be tried. Should the governors of any charter or proprietary government refuſe to aſſiſt the commiſſioners; ſhould any perſon in authority, in the colonies, refuſe to pay obedience to the act; ſuch refuſal, in either caſe, was declared to be a forfeiture of the charter.

An act paſſed in the 10th and 11th year of the ſame reign, confines the advantage of the fiſhery of Newfoundland to Britiſh ſhips fitted out from G. Britain. The execution of the orders and regulations reſpecting that fiſhery, was placed in the hands of the admirals, in the reſpective harbours; that is to ſay, in the hands of the maſter of the ſhip that ſhould firſt arrive from G. Britain; the deciſion in all queſtions of civil ſuit is veſted in ſuch admirals, with appeal to the commander of the King's ſhips; all criminal offences are to be tried, in any county of England, by the King's commiſſioners of oyer and terminer and gaol-delivery.

The opinions of this nation concerning the government of the colonies, may be collected from the above acts. The authority of parliament to bind America in all caſes whatſoever, and whenever the general intereſt of the whole empire required it, was never diſputed; and it was often exerted to correct abuſes, and to ſuppreſs the ideas of independence, which began, even then, to be cheriſhed by the colonies. The ſame principles, and the ſame policy, were carried down by parliament through the three ſucceeding reigns of Q. Anne, and of George I. and George II.

Early in the firſt of thoſe reigns, the groſſeſt abuſes were committed by the petty

petty legiſlatures in the colonies with reſpect to coin. The interpoſition of parliament became neceſſary to correct thoſe abuſes. An act was paſſed 6° Ann. for that purpoſe, when the councils of that princeſs were guided by Whigs. By this act, the rates of foreign coin, in the plantations, were aſcertained; and a ſevere puniſhment was inflicted on thoſe who ſhould take them at higher rates. The American trade was placed in the ſame reign under further reſtrictions, by act of parliament. Rice and molaſſes were added to the liſt of enumerated commodities. In the reign of George I. furs and copper-ore of the plantations were ſubjected to the ſame reſtrictions.

The Britiſh parliament confined not to acts their ſenſe of the undoubted right they poſſeſſed of controuling the colonies in all caſes whatſoever. In the Journals of both Houſes there are many proceedings which furniſh proofs of their undeviating adherence to the ſame principles. In the year 1702, a bill was brought into the Houſe of Commons, for aboliſhing all the charter and proprietary governments in America, and reuniting them to the crown. In 1705, the Houſe of Lords came to ſeveral reſolutions on the ſubject of laws enacted in ſeveral of thoſe governments. They declared thoſe laws to be repugnant to the laws of England, and deſtructive to the conſtitution. This proceeding was likewiſe followed by a bill for aboliſhing thoſe charters.

Theſe bills, it muſt be confeſſed, were not carried into laws. But they did not fail through any doubt entertained by the legiſlature againſt their propriety. They were loſt through a change in the ſituation of thoſe who brought forward the meaſure. That the opinion of the legiſlature continued the ſame on this ſubject, is evident; as the ſame propoſition was again taken up in the year 1716, when a Whig miniſtry governed the kingdom.

In the reign of George II. the inſtances of the controuling authority of parliament over the colonies, are more numerous and ſtriking. By an act 2° Geo. II. ch. 35. ſevere prohibitions and penalties are impoſed and inflicted on ſuch perſons as ſhall cut and deſtroy white pines, although ſuch pines are growing within the limits of a townſhip already granted; and theſe penalties are directed to be ſued for and recovered in the courts of admiralty. The merchants of G. Britain having, in the 5th of the ſame reign, preferred a petition to parliament, complaining of the difficulties they met with in the recovery of debts in the plantations, an act was paſſed, which ſubjected all real eſtates in the colonies to juſt debts and demands; and to be aſſets, in the ſame manner as in England, for the ſatisfaction of debts due by bond. The exportation of hats from any of the colonies, and even the conveyance of them by land from one colony to another, is prohibited, under ſevere penalties, by an act paſſed in the ſame ſeſſion.

In the year 1735 the province of Maſſachuſet's-bay preſented a petition to the Houſe of Commons, praying, that they might be heard by counſel on the ſubject of grievances. The chief of theſe was, "That the crown had reſtrained their governor, by inſtructions, in certain caſes relative to the iſſue and diſpoſal of public money, and the emiſſion of paper-bills of credit." The Commons, having conſidered the matter, came to a reſolution, "That the petition was frivolous and groundleſs, a high inſult upon his Majeſty's government, and tending to SHAKE OFF THE DEPENDENCY of the ſaid colony upon this kingdom, to which in LAW and RIGHT THEY OUGHT TO BE SUBJECT." Complaint having, at the ſame time, been made to the Houſe, "That the repreſentatives of that colony had cenſured a perſon for giving evidence, before a committee of the Houſe, in the caſe of a bill then depending in parliament;" it was reſolved, "That the paſſing ſuch cenſure was an AUDACIOUS PROCEEDING, and a high violation of the privileges of the Houſe." A committee was accordingly appointed to inquire who were the abettors of this unwarrantable proceeding.

We may perceive, from the above circumſtance, how jealous parliament have been of their ſupremacy and uncontroulable authority over the colonies. Another inſtance muſt carry the proof of this poſition beyond the power of reply. In the year 1740, the Houſe of Commons entered into a conſideration of "the abuſes committed in the colonies, in reſpect to the emiſſion of paper-bills of credit." After a long examination, they came to various reſolutions. They reſolved, "That the act paſſed in the 6th of Queen Anne, aſcertaining the rates of foreign coin in America, had not been

duly obſerved: That many indirect practices, in that reſpect, had been introduced, contrary to the true intent of the act: That an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty, to require the governors of his colonies to take effectual meaſures for the ſtrict obſervance of the act of the 6th of Q. Anne: That another addreſs ſhould be preſented, requeſting his Majeſty to iſſue his royal proclamation, to ſettle and aſcertain the rates of foreign gold coins: That the creating and iſſuing bills of credit, in the Britiſh colonies, by virtue of acts of aſſembly, had fruſtrated the deſign of the act of the 6th of Queen Anne: That an humble addreſs of thanks ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty, for the orders he has already given on that head: and, That he ſhould alſo be requeſted to require and command the governors of the reſpective provinces, not to give their aſſent to any act, whereby bills of credit might be iſſued in lieu of money."

Theſe ſpirited reſolutions of the Commons checked, for ſome time, the abuſes in the emiſſion and circulation of paper-money. The New-England governments, however, did not continue long to pay any regard to royal inſtructions, though ſupported and enforced by the authority of the Houſe of Commons. The frauds committed awakened again the attention of parliament. In the 24th of George II. an act was paſſed, *to regulate and reſtrain paper-bills of credit in the four New-England governments*; the governors of thoſe colonies were prohibited, under pain of being removed from their governments, and for ever rendered incapable of any public office or place of truſt, from aſſenting to any act, order, or vote, for the iſſue of any paper-bills of credit; and all ſuch acts, orders, or votes, were declared to be, *ipſo facto*, null and void.

In the year 1741 the colonies took up the idea of a LAND-BANK, which had proved ſo unſucceſsful in England in the reign of K. William. The "American aſſemblies," it appeared to parliament, "had *preſumed* to publiſh a ſcheme for ſupplying a pretended want of a medium in trade, for ſetting up a bank on land-ſecurity, and to ſolicit ſubſcriptions." To correct this evil, an act was paſſed, in the 14th of George II. "to reſtrain and prevent ſuch unwarrantable practices; and to extend to America the penalties inflicted by a ſtatute of the 6th of George I. on perſons guilty of ſuch practices in theſe kingdoms." They were alſo ſubjected, by the ſame act, to the penalty and forfeiture ordained by the ſtatute of proviſion and premunire of the 16th of Richard II.

There are ſeveral other ſtatutes by which parliament with equal force aſſert their authority over the colonies. In ſome of theſe they carry this authority beyond the limits with which they have hitherto circumſcribed it in this kingdom. In the 29th of George II. cap. 35. officers of the army are empowered to inliſt, in the colonies, apprentices and indented ſervants. The perſons ſo inliſted were exempted from arreſts in civil actions, where the value of the action exceeds not ten pounds. To theſe ſtriking inſtances of the controuling power of parliament over the colonies, may be added the act 23° Geo. II. cap 29. By that act, "every perſon erecting or working any mill or other engine for ſlitting or rolling iron, or any plating forge or furnace for making ſteel, is ſubjected to a penalty of 200 l. to be recovered in any of the courts in Weſtminſter-hall, or in the court of exchequer in Scotland."

The foregoing recital of ſtatutes binding the colonies prior to the preſent reign, of which the congreſs ſo much complain, is ſufficient to convince the diſpaſſionate, that the controuling power of parliament has been perpetually exerted, and never diſputed. There is hardly any object of legiſlation in which the laws of this country have not bound America. Taxation has been purpoſely omitted in the above detail. That article, as the great object of conteſt, ought to be ſeparately ſtated. I ſhall, therefore, throw into one point of view, all the inſtances of the exerciſe of the power of the Britiſh parliament in that caſe.

The firſt inſtance of taxation is the act 12° Char. II. for granting to the crown a duty of tonnage and poundage. This act is in point. It directs, that the duties above mentioned "ſhall be payable upon commodities, not only imported into the realm of England, but alſo into the DOMINIONS THEREUNTO BELONGING." The colonies are here included in expreſs words. It is true, indeed, that the duties of tonnage and poundage were not collected in America. The reaſon was, that the commerce of the plantations was ſo inconſiderable, that the

the revenue ariſing from it could not pay the expence of collection.

But whatever might have been the reaſon for not collecting the duties of tonnage and poundage in the colonies, the law was certainly underſtood to extend to America. In the year 1680, the aſſembly of the Iſland of Jamaica refuſed "to raiſe levies for the ſupport of government." Upon this refuſal, the Lords of the Council made a minute "to confer with the Judges upon the queſtion, Whether the ſubſidies upon the tonnage and poundage upon goods that may by law, or ſhall be directly carried to Jamaica, be not payable, according to law, by his Majeſty's ſubjects inhabiting that iſland, or trading there, by virtue of the acts of tonnage and poundage, or other acts made in England?" Unfortunately it does not appear, whether the conference was ever held; or if it was actually held, what was the reſult.

The 25th of Charles II. cap. 7. is the next act that binds America, in point of taxation. By that act certain duties are made payable in the plantations, upon ſugar, tobacco, cotton-wool, indigo, ginger, logwood, fuſtic, and other dying-woods, and cocoa-nuts exported to any other place, except England. Theſe duties continue to be paid to this day.

In the 9th of Q. Anne, an act was paſſed, impoſing certain duties on all prize-goods taken in America, and imported into any of the colonies. Theſe duties were as follows: "All European goods (wine and brandy excepted) which have been uſually ſent to the plantations, are to pay THERE ſuch cuſtoms as are payable for the like goods imported into the plantations from G. Britain. Other goods taken as prizes ſhall be liable THERE to ſuch duties as were payable for the ſame, by any act of aſſembly in the ſaid plantations."

To theſe acts, ſubjecting his Majeſty's ſubjects in America to taxes impoſed by the Britiſh parliament, ſeveral others may be added. The act 9° Ann. for eſtabliſhing a poſt office; the various acts paſſed for levying and enforcing the collection of the duty of ſix pence per month, out of ſeamens wages, for the ſupport of Greenwich hoſpital: all theſe acts extend to America; they bind the colonies, as well as the mother-country; their authority was never diſputed; and the taxes impoſed by them have been uniformly raiſed. The act 2° Geo. II. cap. 7. is ſtill more explicit and deciſive in the words. It requires the payment of the duties for Greenwich hoſpital, "by ſeamen belonging to American ſhips, whether employed upon the high ſeas, or in any port, harbour, bay, or creek, within ANY of the colonies."

It appears from this detail of facts, that the right of parliament to bind the colonies in all caſes whatſoever, is not a claim founded on mere theory: on the contrary, that the controuling power of the legiſlature is warranted by conſtant uſage, and uninterrupted practice (5); that the declaratory act, of which the Americans complain, contains no new, no aſſumed powers over the plantations; and that there is ſcarce any channel of legiſlation, through which the Britiſh parliament has not exerted its ſupremacy, in as full and ample a manner as it has been exerted over the inhabitants of G. Britain; and all this prior to the preſent reign, in which the congreſs place the commencement of "public ruin."

The American, &c. [*To be continued.*]

(5) But the power formerly aſſumed by parliament over the colonies was exerted in mild, lenient, and beneficial acts; and the people of America did not, at thoſe early periods, think even theſe exertions of parliamentary authority juſtifiable, ſo long as they were unrepreſented in parliament. But had the caſe been otherwiſe, and had the acts of parliament to which the coloniſts ſubmitted, been even as violent and ſevere as thoſe which they now reſiſt; would it from thence follow, that men, by having formerly committed injuſtice, acquire a right to perſevere in the practice of it?

A Calm Anſwer to Mr Weſley's Calm Addreſs. [xxxvii. 571. 621.]

REV. SIR,

AS I intend to be very ſhort, I will endeavour to come to the point immediately.

You begin then by ſaying, that he who denies to the Britiſh parliament the power of taxing America, muſt, at the ſame time, deny the power of making any laws binding on America. — Strange reaſoning indeed, Mr Weſley! Is not the kingdom of Ireland reſtricted in trade, and in other reſpects ſubject to the king and parliament, yet don't you know, that their money is raiſed and granted

granted by their own parliament? In the ſame manner Wales, Cheſter, and Durham, were not ſubject to parliamentary taxation, until they ſent repreſentatives to parliament, agreeable to the true principles of the Engliſh conſtitution, that makes taxation and repreſentation inſeparable. — "What property (ſays that great luminary Mr Locke) can any man have in that which another can take from him at pleaſure?" [xxxvii. 345]. — Obſerve again what Judge Blackſtone (the preſent oracle of the Engliſh law) ſays upon the ſubject. "America (ſays he) is in ſome reſpects ſubject to Engliſh laws; but they carry with them only as much of thoſe laws as are applicable to their preſent ſituation; ſo the laws of police, revenue, and ſpiritual juriſdiction, are neither neceſſary or convenient for them."

Again you obſerve, that in wide-extended dominions, a very ſmall part of the people are concerned in the making of laws, ſo of courſe they are in the ſame ſituation with the major part of ourſelves. But you do not ſeem to attend to the great difference betwixt them and us in that reſpect; which is this, that our tax-maſters can raiſe no tax upon their conſtituents, without being ſubject to the very ſame themſelves. The Americans have no ſuch ſecurity againſt future oppreſſion, if once they yield to the principle which you want to inculcate, and which would deſtroy the diſtinction ſo well expreſſed by Sidney, viz. "The danger of periſhing by thoſe who muſt periſh along with us, can never be ſo great, as to thoſe who have no body ſitting in that aſſembly immediately concerned in their intereſt or preſervation *." — Pleaſe likewiſe to obſerve what Sir John Dalrymple ſays in his ingenious pamphlet againſt American claims; and with him I heartily agree: "If you mean (ſays he) to deny to the king the power of appointing officers, and the putting a negative on your bills; or if you deny to the judicial powers their right of receiving appeals, or to the legiſlative part their power to regulate your trade for the general intereſt of the whole, we ſhall then ſtake the fate of the Britiſh empire on the conteſt; but your complaint of taxes deſerves our moſt ſerious attention. — We revere our king, but we cannot be certain of his ſucceſſors; ſo that, whatever pretenſions we have to the exerciſe of ſuch a power, we deſire to throw it from us as a thing unworthy of us to poſſeſs, or of you to be ſubject to." [xxxvii. 321.]. Obſerve again Gen. Burgoyne in his letter to Lee: "No man of ſenſe and information (ſays he) will ſuppoſe, that the miniſtry, after the experience they have had, will attempt again the exerciſe of ſuch a power." [xxxvii. 480.]

Thus you ſee, Mr Weſley, that the poſt of taxation ſeems in a manner to be abandoned by the warmeſt advocates of the miniſtry; and of courſe your ſhot is too late. In this reſpect you put me in mind of a pariſh-clerk, who being inliſted amongſt ſome new recruits, was exerciſed one day along with the reſt; but unluckily having reſerved his fire too long, he gave a pop-ſhot ſome time after all the reſt; upon which the commanding officer gave him a rap on the ſhoulder, calling out at the ſame time, "D—n your Amen ſhot, Sir."

As to thoſe Ahithophels (ſo named by you) in England, whom you accuſe ſo boldly of a deſign to ſubvert the conſtitution,—becauſe they are againſt the preſent coercive meaſures, I ſhould be glad to know what particular information you have received to juſtify ſuch an aſſertion. "Let every man be perſuaded in his own mind, (ſays the apoſtle Paul, your maſter). Who art thou that judgeſt another man?" May there not be good and wiſe men on both ſides of the queſtion, though they differ in opinion? And will you be as ſevere in your political creed as in the ſyſtem of your religious faith, where you attempt to ſhut the gates of Heaven againſt all infidels? Becauſe there are many who wiſh for peace with America, is it conſiſtent with charity to ſuſpect ſuch people of being enemies to the king, or the conſtitution? Becauſe the Americans contend for the giving and granting their own money as formerly, is this any proof that they want to throw off dependency on their mother-country? On the contrary, they require only to be placed on the ſame footing as before the ſtamp-act in 1763. In time of peace, ſay they, we will labour for G. Britain, in compliance with the navigation-acts, and in time of war we will chearfully expend our beſt blood and

* [If there has been an anſwer made to this, we would be obliged to any one for a copy of it, or for a direction where to find it; as the utmoſt impartiality in every diſpute is our ardent wiſh.]

and treaſure in the common cauſe. Is this the language of independency?

Still perhaps you will ſay, What compenſation have we in reality for the protection that we have afforded them, if the power of taxation is thus tamely given up? Their anſwer is plain, and indeed has nothing myſtical in it: "Either be ſatisfied," ſay they, "with the monopoly of our trade, which brings greater loſs to us, and greater advantage to you, than if we paid our ſhare of taxes; or lay open our trade, and then we will contribute our proportion when called on in a conſtitutional manner; but if the war goes on, will ever the trade of ruined provinces compenſate for your expences, or ſhall we ever be able to pay for our own chains?" [xxxvii. 488.]. —"We are more indebted," ſay the merchants of Briſtol, "to their former affections than to any dread they had of our power. — It would not only be arrogant and preſumptuous in us to addreſs for war and ſlaughter, but unnatural and ungrateful." [xxxvii. 635.]

Let us now, if you pleaſe, examine the maxims and principles of the police of commerce ſo wiſely eſtabliſhed in the laſt century; and then conſider, coolly and impartially, how far we have departed from the old ſyſtem by the late revenue-acts. It would appear, then, that the navigation-acts were in conſequence of three principal objects, as then ſet forth in the following words, viz.

1. To eſtabliſh, ſay thoſe wiſe founders, a greater intercourſe and friendly correſpondence betwixt Great Britain and her colonies.

2. To ſecure the vent of Engliſh goods.

3. To render this country a ſtaple for the produce of our American plantations.

How well thoſe ſalutary purpoſes were fulfilled by the mutual affection that ſubſiſted, and the rapid progreſs of our American trade, is too obvious to enlarge upon. I ſhall therefore give one inſtance only to prove the truth of what has been advanced. — In the year 1704, the province of Pennſylvania commiſſioned goods only to the extent of 11 or 12,000 l. but in the year 1772 their demands amounted to the amazing ſum of more than 500,000 l. In the mean time, particular cities were enriched, the landed intereſt was greatly increaſed, and the exchequer, in the ſingle article of tobacco, received near 300,000 l. a-year.

Will any man pretend to ſay after this, that America does not contribute to the public wants? Again, during the late war, not a year paſſed without the repeated thanks and acknowledgements of the king and parliament to thoſe very people for their zeal and efforts in the common cauſe. Now, Mr Weſley, if the venerable founders of this good old ſyſtem were to riſe, and to ſee all thoſe, and many other advantages, in a conflict with the finances; would they not expreſs ſome ſurpriſe at the conduct of their blinded poſterity ever ſince the fatal æra of the ſtamp-act? And though at preſent our manufactures are kept alive by an extraordinary demand from Spain, Ruſſia, &c. yet ſurely we cannot depend on the continuation of ſuch demands, for many reaſons; and will not the landed man ſuffer equally with the merchant by the decay of trade? If he doubts this, he may read what Mr Locke ſays on the ſubject, viz. "The decay of trade is immediately felt by the landed man; and though he is not very forward to believe this, yet this is certain, that he is as much concerned in trade as the merchant himſelf." — By the old ſyſtem, the wealth and riches of America flowed peaceably and quietly into G. Britain: — their luxury was our advantage, and the debts ſtill owing to the merchants, prove, that the produce of their ſoil, their fiſheries, and Spaniſh trade, have not all been ſufficient to pay for Britiſh goods. To what purpoſe then would you tax them? — unleſs you want to reſemble the man in the fable, whoſe hen produced a golden egg to him every morning, which only increaſed his avarice, and at laſt tempted him to kill the poor hen, in expectation of growing rich all at once by the vaſt treaſure which he thought muſt be within her?

As to the tea-riot, their tarring and feathering of cuſtomhouſe-officers, &c. no man in his ſenſes would pretend to vindicate; but ſuch actions, I hope, can only be imputed to the baſe-born multitude, or unthinking herd of the people: and I am glad to hear, that committees of ſafety are appointed now to prevent ſuch diſorders for the future, which muſt diſgrace any cauſe. Yet many are of opinion, that ſuch excreſcences or ebullitions of liberty may be conſidered as ſpecks on the eye of the political body, and to be touched with a gentle hand, leſt the eye itſelf ſhould be endangered by

by ſudden or violent operations. — Porteous was hanged at Edinburgh by a mob, and Shawfield's houſe at Glaſgow was deſtroyed by a riot; yet care was taken not to confound the innocent with the guilty, and thoſe cities ſtill preſerve their former liberties and immunities.

Since the beginning of this century there have been two open rebellions in favour of tyranny and arbitrary government; yet ſurely it would be an unfair and illiberal reflection to ſay, that Scotland, in general, was governed by mobs and rebellious councils.

To conclude: Join then, as a miniſter of peace, in praying for a happy and honourable accommodation of differences; that the horrors of a civil war may be averted, which hardens the heart, and debauches all degrees of men; and which entails not only general diſtreſs, but hatches evil morals in the minds of many; and may kind Providence diſpoſe both parties to ſee their real intereſt, and to meet one another under the calm dictates of reaſon, inſtead of being guided by the blind impulſes of paſſion; leſt, after exhauſting our ſtrength in this unnatural conteſt, one or both parties ſhould fall a prey to the common enemy.

A WHIG.

From a Father's Inſtructions to his Children.

The Paſſions ſhould be governed by Reaſon.

SOphron and Alexis had frequently heard Euphronius mention the experiment of ſtilling the waves with oil, made by his friend Dr Franklin. They were impatient to repeat it; and a briſk wind proving favourable to the trial, they haſtened, one evening, to a ſheet of water in the pleaſure-grounds of Eugenio, near Hart-Hill. The oil was ſcattered upon the pool, and ſpread itſelf inſtantly on all ſides, calming the whole ſurface of the water, and reflecting the moſt beautiful colours. Elated with ſucceſs the youths returned to Euphronius, to enquire the cauſe of ſuch a wonderful appearance. He informed them, that the wind blowing upon water which is covered with a coat of oil, ſlides over the ſurface of it, and produces no friction that can raiſe a wave. But this curious philoſophical fact, ſaid he, ſuggeſts a moſt important moral reflection. When you ſuffer yourſelf to be ruffled by Paſſion, your minds reſemble the *puddle in a ſtorm*. But Reaſon, if you hearken to her voice, will then, like oil poured upon the water, calm the turbulence within you, and reſtore you to ſerenity and peace.

PARLIAMENT. [16.]

ON Friday, Nov. 10. the Lords were aſſembled, for examining Governor Penn, and diſcuſſing a motion which the Duke of Richmond propoſed to ground on ſuch information as that gentleman ſhould afford the Houſe.

Previous to the calling of Mr Penn to the bar, the Duke of Richmond acknowledged, that he had appriſed him of the queſtions which would be propounded to him; but diſclaimed having entered into any ſort of converſation with the Governor, leſt ſuch converſation ſhould be malevolently conſtrued into a deſign of anticipating the anſwers Mr Penn might think proper to return.

His Grace having finiſhed his preliminary remarks, Mr Penn was called to the bar, and interrogated nearly to the following purport.

Q. How long had he reſided in America? A. Four years. Two of thoſe years in the capacity of Governor of Pennſylvania.

Q. Was he acquainted with any of the members of the continental congreſs? A. He was perſonally acquainted with all the members of that congreſs.

Q. In what eſtimation was the congreſs held? A. In the higheſt veneration imaginable by all ranks and orders of men.

Q. Was an implicit obedience paid to the reſolutions of that congreſs throughout all the provinces? A. He believed this to be the caſe.

Q. How many men had been raiſed throughout the province of Pennſylvania? A. Twenty thouſand effective men had voluntarily enrolled themſelves to enter into ſervice if neceſſity required.

Q. Of what rank, quality, and condition, were thoſe perſons? A. Men of the moſt reſpectable characters in the province.

Q. Were not a conſiderable number of them entirely deſtitute of property? A. It was preſumed, that, in ſo large a number as 20,000, there were ſome neceſſitous; but the major part were in flouriſhing ſituations.

Q. Beſides thoſe 20,000 who voluntarily enrolled themſelves to act as exigencies might require, what other forces had the provincials of Pennſylvania raiſed? A. Four thouſand minute-men, whoſe duty was pointed out by their deſcription

ſcription. They were to be ready for ſervice at a minute's warning.

Q. Did the province of Pennſylvania grow corn ſufficient for the ſupply of its inhabitants? A. Much more than ſufficient: there was a ſurplus for exportation, if required.

Q. Were they capable of making gunpowder in Pennſylvania? A They perfectly well underſtood the art, and had effected it.

Q. Could ſaltpetre be made in the province? A. It could: mills, and other inſtruments for effecting ſuch an undertaking had been erected with ſucceſs.

Q. Could cannon be caſt in Pennſylvania? A. The art of caſting cannon had been carried to great perfection: they were amply furniſhed with iron for the purpoſe.

Q. Could ſmall arms be made to any degree of perfection? A. To as great a degree of perfection as could be imagined. The workmanſhip employed in finiſhing the ſmall arms was univerſally admired for its excellence.

Q. Were the Americans expert in ſhip-building? A. Equally ſo with the Europeans.

Q. To what extent of tonnage did the largeſt of their ſhipping amount? A. About three hundred tuns.

Q. Circumſtanced as things at preſent were, did the witneſs think, that the language of the congreſs expreſſed the ſenſe of the people of America in general? A. As far as this queſtion applied to Pennſylvania, he was ſure this was the caſe; for the other provinces, he replied in the affirmative from information only.

Q. Did he ſuppoſe that the congreſs contained delegates fairly nominated by the choice of the people? A. He had no doubt but that the congreſs did contain delegates choſen under this deſcription.

Q. By what mode were the delegates in congreſs appointed? A. By the votes of aſſemblies in ſome places, by ballot in others.

Q. In what light had the petition which the witneſs had preſented to the King, been conſidered by the Americans? A. The petition had been conſidered as an olive-branch, and the witneſs had been complimented by his friends as the meſſenger of peace.

Q. On the ſuppoſition that the prayer of this petition ſhould be rejected, what did the witneſs imagine would be the conſequence? A. That the Americans, who placed much reliance on the petition, would be driven to deſperation by its non-ſucceſs.

Q. Did the witneſs imagine, that ſooner than yield to what were ſuppoſed to be the unjuſt claims of Great Britain, the Americans would take the deſperate reſolution of calling in the aid of foreign aſſiſtance? A. He was apprehenſive that this would be the caſe.

Q. What did the witneſs recollect of the ſtamp-act? A. That it cauſed great uneaſineſs throughout America.

Q. What did the witneſs recollect concerning the repeal of that act? A. The anniverſary of that memorable day is kept throughout America, by every teſtimony of public rejoicing; ſuch as bonfires, illuminations, and other exhibitions of gladneſs.

Q. Would not the neglect with which the laſt petition was treated, induce the Americans to reſign all hopes of pacific negotiations? A. In the opinion of the witneſs it would.

Q. When the witneſs preſented the petition to the Secretary of State, was he aſked any queſtions relative to the ſtate of America? A. Not a ſingle queſtion.

Croſs Examination.

Q. As the witneſs had acted as Governor, was he well acquainted with the charter of Pennſylvania? A. He was well acquainted with its contents.

Q. Did he not know, that there was a clauſe which ſpecifically ſubjected the colony to taxation by the Britiſh legiſlature? [xxxvi. 414.]. A. Yes.

Q. Were the people of Pennſylvania content with their charter? A. Perfectly content.

Q. Then did they not acquieſce in the right of the Britiſh parliament to enforce taxation? A. They acquieſced in a declaration of the right ſo long as they experienced no inconvenience from the declaration.

Q. Did the witneſs apprehend, that the congreſs acquieſced in an act which maintained the authority of the Britiſh parliament in all caſes whatſoever? A. Except in taxation, he apprehended the Americans would have no objection to acknowledge the ſovereignty of Great Britain.

Q. Had the witneſs ever heard of any perſons who had ſuffered perſecutions,

for declaring ſentiments favourable to the ſupremacy of the Britiſh parliament? A. He had heard of ſuch oppreſſions in other provinces, but never met with them during his reſidence in Pennſylvania.

Q. In the opinion of the witneſs, were the Americans now free? A. They imagined themſelves to be ſo.

Q. In caſe a formidable force ſhould be ſent to America in ſupport of government, did the witneſs imagine there were many who would openly profeſs ſubmiſſion to the authority of parliament? A. The witneſs apprehended, that the few who would join on ſuch an occaſion would be too trivial a number to be of any conſequence.

Mr Penn was then ordered to withdraw. The Duke of Richmond got up, and told the Houſe, that, as his Majeſty's miniſters had been repeatedly called upon to lay before the Houſe a plan of their future operations in reſpect to America, and had not thought fit to do it, though a fortnight had already elapſed, he muſt be content with making the beſt of what out-door reports he had been able to collect. His Grace ſaid, That he underſtood commiſſioners were to be ſent from hence to treat with the Americans; but who they were, whether men of abilities, weight, and conſequence, he knew not: That he had likewiſe heard, five battalions of Hanoverians were gone to Gibraltar and Mahon, the better to enable government to ſend more Britiſh troops to deſtroy Britiſh ſubjects: That he had alſo been told, that 70,000 men were to be ſent to America, though by the reſolutions of the other Houſe, he found only 25,000 voted. Another piece of information he had acquired was, That 30,000 Ruſſians were to be ſent to the colonies. He then acquainted the Houſe, That in order to ſatisfy his curioſity in reſpect to the expence of tranſporting thoſe people to America, a very experienced officer in the navy, whom he had conſulted, had told him, that the mere victualling the tranſports, and carrying them to America, would coſt 500,000 l. without a ſingle ſhilling for their pay or cloathing, and other requiſites. His Grace then entered upon the ſubject at large, was ſevere on adminiſtration, and concluded with moving, "That the matter of the American petition affords matter of conciliation of the unhappy difference ſubſiſting between the mother-country and the colonies; and that it is highly neceſſary that proper ſteps be immediately taken for attaining ſo deſirable an object."

Lord Dartmouth replied, declared himſelf againſt the motion, expatiated largely on the lenity of government, remarked on the abſurdity of divulging plans of government, and ſaid, as the King had promiſed in his ſpeech to empower commiſſioners on the ſpot to negotiate a peace with the colonies, if it could be done with honour to this country, the motion was unneceſſary. He added, that the laſt clauſe in the petition of the congreſs [xxxvii. 433.], which he read, ſhewed, that the Americans wanted conceſſions from Great Britain that could not be made; therefore there was no ground in the petition for conciliating the differences between the two countries.

Lord Sandwich declared, that three different miſtakes had been made by the Lords who had ſpoken againſt adminiſtration in the preſent debate. The firſt was, That the river St Lawrence was generally frozen up in the end of October or beginning of November. This was, if he could truſt the information of as great a navigator as Sir Francis Drake, (Capt. Cook), a man who had lived four winters in the country, and who was the firſt navigator in Europe, a groſs error: the river St Lawrence was not frozen up till the end of December, and in fact the great danger of ſailing up it at this ſeaſon of the year, aroſe from the ſtrong gales which were wont to blow thereabouts. — The ſecond was, That the three regiments which were laſt embarked were ſent to Quebec. — The third, That 30,000 Ruſſians were to be ſent over at the expence of 500,000 l. and 70,000 forces were to be employed. He begged the Noble Lords who made theſe allegations, to inform him where they got their ſecret intelligence, as the matter was entirely unknown to him. His Lordſhip then entered very fully into the preſent ſituation of the army and navy; declaring, that the marines were at this moment recruiting without difficulty; as his Lordſhip proved by inſtancing the weekly returns; and as to the ſeamen, the recruiting of that body was of ſo very eaſy a nature, that the officers in particular, and the public in general, languiſhed for the ſervice, and he did not deſpair of completing the number voted, without having recourſe to preſſ-

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ing. This his Lordſhip repeated; but begged the Houſe to remember, that he did not pledge himſelf to perform it; becauſe, although he thought it might be done, he did not aſſert it poſitively, as he was fully convinced, that preſſing was, in many caſes, a very neceſſary meaſure, and that a great naval force could never be raiſed without it.— Before his Lordſhip concluded, he took occaſion to ridicule the mode of negotiation propoſed by the Lords who differed from him; and obſerved, that though Gov. Penn was a worthy, honeſt gentleman, he thought himſelf warranted to ſay, his teſtimony was clearly *ex parte*; and that therefore it might, without offence, be deemed a partial evidence. He called upon oppoſition to ſhew, in what books of negotiation their propoſed plan was to be found, and adviſed them to order their writers to publiſh ſome new treatiſes in ſupport of it:— but till he ſaw ſuch treatiſes, he declared he ſhould view negotiations in the old point of view, and think it always right to negotiate with force in hand, and not to diſarm ere preliminaries were conſented to. His Lordſhip gave an account of his conduct in negotiating the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, where he did not conſent to ſend back the Ruſſians, then on their march to join the allied army, till the French agreed to draw back an equal force from the field. That peace, his Lordſhip ſaid, was a peace which fell from the clouds.

Lord Shelburne replied, That, with regard to the alledged miſtakes, being denied by adminiſtration the proper intelligence, he, with the other Noble Lords who thought with him, were obliged to acquire it where they could meet with it; that he had heard, from indiſputable authority, that the river St Laurence was annually frozen up at this ſeaſon; and as to the regiments deſtined to Quebec, it was the univerſal language of the people; and that although he could not reverence adminiſtration, he did not wiſh them ſo ill, as that they ſhould be found in a ſcrape at the expence of three regiments; but as it was notorious the regiments were embarked, he begged to know where they were deſtined. If the ſtatement of 70,000 men was an error, the Lords in adminiſtration ſhould take ſhame to themſelves, in obliging any Peer to go to the other Houſe of Parliament for intelligence: — That his information came from the Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, who had in the Houſe of Commons made ſuch a declaration. He rebuked Lord Sandwich for boaſting of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, declaring, that the ſending of peers as hoſtages, on that occaſion, was an infamy to this nation, and fixed a ſtigma on thoſe who propoſed and enforced the meaſure, which nothing could wipe off. His Lordſhip drew a parallel between the number and ſucceſs of our troops at that time and the preſent, mentioning particularly the terms of that peace, and aſking what towns, what diſtricts, could adminiſtration now ſurrender as the terms of peace with the coloniſts, when the ſmall town of Boſton was the whole of our American empire? His Lordſhip ſaid, the eaſy recruiting of the ſeamen called up in his mind ideas of pity and ſenſibility; that it was too ſtrong a proof of the decline of our trade, and the ruin of our commerce, to give him ſenſations of pleaſure. That the late riot in Liverpool [xxxvii. 523.] was aſcribable to this, and this only; and that the *douceur* which prevented further diſturbance was the providing for the rioters, by taking them into the royal navy: but that he thought the advertiſement daily inſerted in the public papers, for the lieutenants on half-pay to ſend notice of their place of reſidence, was rather contradictory to the Noble Lord's aſſertions on this head, eſpecially as the advertiſement declared, ſuch as did not immediately comply with that requeſt would be ſtruck off the liſt *. His Lordſhip concluded, that he was ſorry at the end of the debate to find, that the only information the laſt Noble ſpeaker had given the Houſe, was to tell them, that their country muſt, on the preſent melancholy diſpute, look for *peace in the clouds*.

Lord Sandwich ſhortly replied, and defended the meaſure of ſending hoſtages abroad previous to the peace of Aix-

* [*Admiralty-office, Oct.* 28. 1775. Whereas ſeveral of the Lieutenants of his Majeſty's Fleet, who are unemployed, have not ſent to this office the places of their reſidence; it is the direction of my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that all ſuch lieutenants of his Majeſty's Fleet as come within the above deſcription, do forthwith tranſmit to this office the place of their reſpective reſidence; and that they do, for the future, continue to do the like whenever they remove to any other place. PH. STEPHENS."]

la-Chapelle, calling it his greateſt merit. In reply to what Lord Shelburne had ſaid reſpecting the Navy-office advertiſements, his Lordſhip declared, there was no ſuch threat held out in them as that of ſtriking the lieutenants off the liſt if they did not immediately regiſter their places of reſidence; and proved, that in every war, ſince England was of any conſequence in Europe, it had been cuſtomary to publiſh ſuch advertiſements; that they were from various cauſes extremely neceſſary; and that there was no difference in thoſe lately publiſhed from ſuch as had heretofore appeared on ſimilar occaſions.

The queſtion being at length put, the Houſe divided; and the numbers were, —For the motion 27, proxies 6, in all 33. Againſt the motion 50, proxies 36; in all 86.—Majority againſt the motion 53.

THE proceedings in the Houſe of Commons on the bill to prohibit all trade and intercourſe with the thirteen colonies [1.], have been already inſerted [xxxvii. 669.—672.].—This bill was read a firſt time in the Houſe of Lords Dec. 13. and a ſecond time Dec. 15.

At the ſecond reading, the Duke of Mancheſter oppoſed the bill, on the grounds of cruelty, impolicy, and injuſtice.—It favoured ſo much of cruelty, that it could be compared to nothing but an edict of a Tartar emperor, whom the hiſtory of China held forth as ſuch a monſter of oppreſſion, that he prohibited all his ſubjects from carrying on a beneficial branch of traffic, becauſe ſome of them had, by their refractorineſs, attempted to preſcribe bounds to his tyrannic ſway.—The bill was impolitic, becauſe it did the very thing which the Americans were charged with having attempted: It ſevered the North-American colonies from G. Britain, perhaps for ever.—The bill was unjuſt in the extreme, becauſe it involved the innocent and the guilty in one common puniſhment. The Noble Duke, therefore, at leaſt was of opinion, that the commitment of the bill ſhould be poſtponed, inaſmuch as it was better to procraſtinate than accelerate a meaſure which was fraught with conſequences of a moſt calamitous nature.

Lord Lyttelton defended the bill on principles of temporary expedience, of ſound policy, and of ſubſtantial juſtice. There was nothing cruel in waging hoſtilities with a people whoſe avowed acts of rebellion had criminated them in the opinion of every ingeunous man. There was nothing inexpedient, becauſe urgent neceſſity called preciſely for ſuch a meaſure. Nor was their aught of injuſtice in the act. The counſels of government were not like thoſe of the Spaniſh Philip, who projected an arbitrary domination over the United Provinces. Both the meaſures of government, and the counſels of thoſe miniſters who had the guidance of ſuch meaſures, were directed to promote the welfare of the empire. The conſtitutional rights of a part, as far as was conſiſtent with the legal ſovereignty of the whole, were the eſſentials, on the preſervation of which, miniſtry, for ſome years paſt, had been principally intent.

The Duke of Richmond condemned the bill, on a ſuppoſition, that the American war had originated from tyrannic oppreſſion on the part of England. His Grace contended, That the acts of parliament which had been paſſed againſt America, were founded on injuſtice; that the Americans had been grievouſly oppreſſed; and, driven to deſperation, they had taken up arms in defence of the common rights of human nature.

Lord Lyttelton animadverted on ſuch language, as highly deſerving the cenſure of the Houſe. Cicero had attributed the downfall of liberty in Rome, to the extreme licentiouſneſs of debate permitted for ſome time in the public aſſemblies. The Noble Duke had a right to pronounce, with freedom, on any bills pending before the Houſe; but acts which had paſſed the ſolemn ſeal of legiſlative authority, theſe ſhould be ſacred from traduction.

Lord Denbigh cautioned the Noble Duke to be careful of his language in future, for that ſuch expreſſions as had fallen from his lips were not to be juſtified, as being unparliamentary in the extreme.

The Duke of Richmond in reply obſerved, that the preſent bill was to be juſtified or reprobated only as it ſtood connected with former acts of parliament; ſuppoſing an unjuſt war to be levied, and that to carry it on a vote for ſupplies ſhould be propoſed, would it not be natural, in giving a negative to raiſing the ſupplies, to aſſign as a reaſon the extreme injuſtice of the war? Thus in the American diſpute, if G. Britain, in

in commencing it, had juſtice on her ſide, the preſent, like various other bills, was well founded; but how was it poſſible to decide on the rectitude of the bill, without deliberating on the nature of the diſpute which had generated it? If that was juſt, the bill was defenſible; if otherwiſe, it merited reprobation. Under favour therefore of the Houſe, his Grace would ſtate his opinion as matter of argument, whilſt freedom of ſpeech was claimed by one ſide, and allowed on the other.

Lord Lyttelton profeſſed an enthuſiaſtic veneration for liberty of ſpeech, as reſtricted within the bounds of decorum. The Lords on both ſides of the Houſe entertained diſſimilar ſentiments. Each Noble Peer had a right to cheriſh ſuch opinion as, after due deliberation, appeared to be founded on the moſt ſolid principles of reaſon. It had happened, however, that the notion imbibed by the Lords in oppoſition, were of the unpopular caſt; the people in general were againſt the Americans. This appeared from the number of unſolicited addreſſes which had found their way to the throne. The Noble ſpeaker from his own knowledge could vouch for one borough, the borough of Bewdley, adjoining to his country-reſidence. This borough had addreſſed for ſubjugation of America, and yet the inhabitants were liable to be conſiderable ſufferers; for the borough of Bewdley engroſſed a twelfth part of the conſumption of the Weſt-India iſlands.

Lord Sandwich defended certain objectionable clauſes of the bill. Such as one which enacts, that the men ſeized out of the American veſſels, ſhould be obliged to ſerve on board his Majeſty's fleet.— With reſpect to any cruelty in confiſcating the property of the Americans, there could be none. The Americans themſelves had fitted out privateers, with a deſign of ſeizing the King's veſſels, and dividing the plunder amongſt the captors: the bill before the Houſe purſued only the very ſame meaſure, on the part of G. Britain, which the coloniſts had adopted on the part of America. And as to tyranny, the Americans had given examples of tyranny not to be equalled in the annals of any civilized country. They had lately tarred and feathered three women; and they had condemned one Jerry, a free negro, and a very honeſt fellow, to death, only for ſaying, that he would pilot one of the King's ſhips into a harbour of South Carolina. After ſuch outrages, lenity would be culpable. The buſineſs was to overwhelm America by ſea.— Nor had we any thing to apprehend from foreign powers. Too great a reliance ſhould not be placed on their aſſurances: we ſhould be prepared for the worſt. The Noble Lord could take upon him to ſay, that ſuch a preparation was about to take place. There were only three line-of-battle ſhips in America. Orders had been ſent to relieve them; when they returned, therefore, every ſhip of the line in the ſervice would be at home; and then the navy, that natural bulwark of England, would be prepared to defend, againſt any foreign power whatever, who might be diſpoſed to try our maritime ſtrength.

Lord Shelburne combated the bill, as betraying parliament into a tranſfer of the power of pardon from the crown to anonymous commiſſioners, who were to be inveſted with this omnipotent attribute of temporal ſovereignty. The crown could tranſfer a power to pardon under certain ſpecific limitations, but the power of pardoning in the lump was ſeldom tranſferred, if, of right, it was really tranſferable.

Another objection urged to the bill was, That it relaxed the act of navigation in favour of Nova Scotia, a province ſo paltry, that Halifax, the capital, was only the gin-ſhop of North America. The rearing of this pitiful province had, however, coſt government upwards of 700,000 l.; whilſt Pennſylvania, which coſt the nation ſcarcely any thing, had brought in upwards of 300,000 l. annual revenue.

The Lord Chancellor contended for the indubitable right of the crown to pardon by deputation, either ſpecifically or generally.

The Duke of Richmond begged to be ſatisfied as to one clauſe of the bill. The veſſels belonging to the colonies in reſiſtance, were to be ſeized, confiſcated, and divided amongſt the captors: Did this right of confiſcation extend to ſhips peaceably laid up in the harbour, or in the ſeveral docks?

Lord Mansfield explained the clauſe as clearly extending to the ſeizure of any American veſſels which might be found either in the harbours or in the docks. The bill impowered the King's ſhips to

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ſeize them preciſely in the ſame manner as, during the wars with France and Spain, the veſſels of thoſe nations had been ſeized in their reſpective harbours.

Lord Weymouth ſpoke for the bill, and obſerved, as to the clauſe reſpecting a transfer of the power of pardon, that it was no more than what the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the governors of colonies, and the judges each were inveſted with.

Lord Townſhend urged the neceſſity of the bill. By ſeverity alone the deluded Americans could be recalled to their duty. It was high time that their factious partiſans ſhould feel the rod of correction: and the Noble Viſcount ſincerely hoped, that the day was near at hand, when Meſſ. Hancock and Adams would take refuge in Switzerland, to ſpare the executioner the trouble of giving an account of their departure.

On the queſtion put, there appeared, for the commitment, Contents 48, proxies 30.; Non-contents 12, proxies 7.

When the order of the day, for going into a committee on the bill, was read, Dec. 18. the Duke of Mancheſter moved, That the commitment might be put off till after the Chriſtmas receſs; grounding his motion on the news, then juſt received, of the ſucceſſes of the provincials in Canada, and on the general importance of the bill. His Grace was ſeconded by the Marquis of Rockingham.—Lord Suffolk ſaid, That if it were true, that Canada was in the hands of the provincials, it ſhould become G. Britain to act with the greater firmneſs and vigour. — Lord Townſhend ſaid, That if an account of our prevailing in this ſkirmiſh, or being defeated in that, was to ſway and influence the Britiſh councils, it was a ſtate he never expected to ſee them reduced to; that if this principle, which parliament meant or avowed to purſue, was a *good* one, and practicable, nothing ought to divert them from it; for he hoped they had the power to enforce what they certainly had a right to claim.—— On the queſtion being put for poſtponing the commitment, it paſſed in the negative, 78 againſt 19. On which a proteſt was entered. [xxxvii. 673.]

The Lord Chancellor then moved for the order of the day; but before the chairman had time to take the chair, the Duke of Mancheſter acquainted the Houſe, that he had a petition from the merchants of Briſtol againſt the bill; the heads of which his Grace read in his place. It deſcribed the ruinous conſequences of the bill, as reſpecting the merchants of that town concerned in the American trade.— Lord Sandwich ſpoke to the matter of order; ſaid, no motion could be received while the order of the day was before the Houſe; that, beſides, he believed there was no occaſion for particularly attending to the contents of the petition, as he meant to offer a clauſe which he believed would in a great meaſure remedy the grievance ſtated in the petition.

The Houſe then went into a committee of the whole Houſe on the bill, Lord Scarſdale in the chair; when ſeveral amendments were made and clauſes offered.

Lord Sandwich offered a clauſe to protect all veſſels, and their cargoes, if two thirds of them ſhould appear to belong to Britiſh ſubjects.

Lord Dartmouth offered an amendment to the preamble, and the concluding clauſe, to aſcertain, and ſhew, that the power of pardoning veſted in his Majeſty by the bill, was inherent in him, and only given here to anſwer a particular purpoſe.

Lord Sandwich offered another clauſe in favour of the Weſt-India iſlands.

The bill being gone through, the report was received the ſame day.

On the third reading of the bill, Dec. 20. the Marquis of Rockingham tendered again to the Houſe the petition of the Briſtol merchants againſt a particular clauſe, (the Duke of Mancheſter being abſent).

Lord Sandwich objected to the Houſe receiving it, in point of order, and becauſe the amendments agreed to had rendered it unneceſſary. Lord Suffolk and Lord Weymouth ſpoke a few words againſt impeding the bill in its laſt ſtage.

Lord Shelburn roſe to expreſs afreſh his objections to paſſing it in a hurry; and concluded with putting his negative on ſuch an unjuſt, raſh, haſty, and ruinous bill. His Lordſhip, upon this occaſion, as well as at the ſecond reading of the bill, made a learned diſtinction founded in hiſtory, on the difference between a civil and a foreign war; he ſaid, it had been made from the time of the Romans by all civilized nations; and he quoted the authority of Grotius; he ſaid, that the Romans would have called ſuch a war with their colonies a ſocial war;

war; for his part, he ſhould call it a conſtitutional war; and the inference he drew from the diſtinction was, that in a ſocial or conſtitutional war, we ought not to proceed to the ſame extremities as in a foreign war.

Lord Mansfield replied, in a ſpeech which drew the attention of all the auditors, both within and without the bar. After ſaying a few words in juſtification of the legality of the King's delegating his power of pardoning offenders, which had been objected to by Lord Shelburne, and ſhewing from an inſtance of modern date, that it had been done in favour of a whole body of people, the town of Galloway in Scotland, in the time of the rebellion; and that it was uſual, when a royal army was on the point of engaging a rebel army, to ſend meſſengers to offer the enemy conditions of pardon, his Lordſhip proceeded nearly in theſe terms.

Though I was ever of opinion, from the commencement of this unhappy diſpute, that every individual inhabitant of the colonies was as much bound in obedience to the King and to the Parliament of Great Britain, as any ſubject of England in London or Middleſex; though I am perſuaded, that the colonies of North America, ever ſince the peace of Paris, had concerted, or at leaſt their rulers there and their adherents, a ſcheme of independence; and that I think it appears even on the evidence of Montcalm's letters, which on an enquiry ſince I firſt mentioned them, I believe to be authentic; though I am of opinion, that the declaratory act, if it was proper to have made that act at all, clearly aſſerts the ſupreme legiſlative authority of this country over America; and though I approve the meaſures ſince taken to oblige them to ſubmit to the authority of the mother-country: yet, my Lords, I am willing to reverſe all this for a moment, and to ſuppoſe that no ſuch plan of independency had been concerted; that this country had no ſuch authority over her colonies; that the declaratory act amounted to no more than the King's title to the crown and dominions of France; that all the meaſures purſued to bring them to obedience were oppreſſive; and, what is worſe, that the miniſters were the worſt ſet of men that ever exiſted: in ſhort, admitting every thing that has been urged by the friends of the Americans, and every thing that has been ſaid againſt the conduct of government at home, prior to this time:—Where are we now, my Lords? and what are we to do? We are engaged in a war, which we muſt purſue, or run away from it. We cannot do the latter: for if we do not get the better of America, America will get the better of us. They are not carrying on a war merely defenſive. They have invaded Canada, perhaps (God forbid) conquered it: The Canadians were not their enemies; they only deſired to obſerve a neutrality: They threaten Halifax; the people of Nova Scotia have done them no harm: Aye, but it is a province belonging to the government of England, and therefore the Americans make war upon it.—They ſeize the ſhips belonging to Ireland, yet they ſtyle the Iriſh their friends and fellow-ſubjects; yes, but it is neceſſary to wound England through the ſides of theſe friends. They are preparing a naval force to carry on an offenſive war againſt you. In this ſtate of the caſe, for God's ſake, my Lords, what is an honeſt man to do, who is a well-wiſher to the honour and intereſt of Great Britain? Are we to ſit ſtill with our hands before us, becauſe we are told this is an unjuſt war on our part, till they have fitted out an expedition againſt this country? My Lords, the Dutch war, in the reign of Charles II. was cried out againſt as an unjuſt, ruinous war, till the Dutch came to Chatham, and burnt your ſhips; then every man in England was ready to turn out againſt the Dutch. I care not, therefore, who began this diſpute, or by whoſe means it has been carried on hitherto, or by whoſe fault it was not ended; I have nothing to do with any thing but the preſent ſituation of things, and in that point of view I conſider the bill we are about to paſs, not only as a juſt, but as a neceſſary bill.

The queſtion being put, the bill with its amendments paſſed the Houſe.

Next day the bill was returned to the Commons; by whom the amendments were agreed to; and the bill received the royal aſſent on the 22d.

The motion Nov. 27. while this bill was before the Commons, for addreſſing the King to inform the Houſe, who were the perſons who adviſed the meaſures againſt America [xxxvii. 670.], was made by Ald. Oliver, and ſeconded by Meſſ. Sawbridge, Wilkes, and Hayley. Theſe gentlemen declared, that they ſupported the motion, not only from their own conviction of the neceſſity, expediency, and

and juſtice, of calling thoſe to an account who had involved their country in a civil war, but becauſe they had ſolemnly engaged to follow implicitly the inſtructions that had or ſhould be given them by their conſtituents [xxxvi. 548.]. Mr Field, Mr Temple Lutterell, and Gov. Johnſtone, ſupported the motion. It was oppoſed by Mr Storer, Lord North, the Attorney-General, Sir Gilbert Elliot, and Mr Rigby. Mr Rigby, with his uſual vein of humour, rallied the city-members; telling them, that ſince they had bound themſelves implicitly to obey the inſtructions of their common council and liverymen, they had no occaſion to ſit in the Houſe till midnight, debating on points to which they could not give their conſent, unleſs it was part of their inſtructions; that not being allowed to have opinions and ſentiments of their own, they ought to ſtyle themſelves the *city-agents*, inſtead of the *city-members*; adding, that they had forgot one point of their inſtructions, which was to addreſs his Majeſty to know who adviſed him not to receive the livery of London on the throne: they could not, he believed, charge the Noble Lord (Lord North) with the crime, for he was not the regulator of the ceremonial of the court. He ſhould be glad to know who it was: he fancied it might be Lord Hertford; and if it ſhould prove ſo in the end, he ſhould be laviſh in his encomiums upon him, inſtead of condemning his conduct.—After the debates were ended, Lord Folkſtone moved the previous queſtion, That this queſtion be not now put? But the friends of adminiſtration being determined that a negative ſhould be put on the motion, a diviſion followed upon the previous queſtion; which was thrown out, 159 againſt 16. Another attempt was made to get rid of the motion by Mr Charles Fox, who moved for the order of the day: but this being over-ruled, the main queſtion upon Mr Oliver's motion was put, and it was rejected, on a diviſion, 163 againſt it, 10 for it.

The motion Dec. 7. for an addreſs to the King, to give orders for putting a ſtop to the further proſecution of hoſtilities in America, &c. [xxxvii. 671.], was made by Mr Hartley, and ſeconded by Sir George Savile. But it was rejected, on a diviſion, 123 to 21.

Of the three motions, Dec. 8. on receiving the report of the committee on the American prohibitory bill [xxxvii. 672.], the firſt was made by Mr Dempſter, the other two by Mr Burke.

The motion for reading the bill a third time Dec. 11. was oppoſed: but carried, on a diviſion, 112 to 16.

It was Mr Burke that moved for a bill, Nov. 16. to compoſe the troubles in America [xxxvii. 669.].—Immediately before making his motion, Mr Burke preſented to the Houſe a petition from the gentlemen, clergy, clothiers, manufacturers, and others, inhabitants of the ſeveral towns of Weſtbury, Warminſter, and Trowbridge; ſetting forth the declining ſtate of trade in that part of the kingdom ever ſince the preſent unfortunate and unnatural conteſt with America; the enormous increaſe of the poor's rates; and praying, for the ſake of peace, for the ſake of trade and commerce, and for the general ſafety, concord, and proſperity, of the whole empire; for the ſake of our holy religion, and the glory of Almighty God, who dwells in peace, to adopt ſuch lenient meaſures as may reſtore to this great kingdom and her colonies that affectionate intercourſe with each other, which alone can prevent the manifold evils with which they are now threatened, and eſtabliſh the national greatneſs on the broad foundation of equal rule, and the general happineſs of a free, loyal, and united people: A petition for which he was ſeverely (and ſeemingly with juſtice) animadverted on. [xxxvii. 681.]

Mr Burke began his ſpeech, by wiſhing the prayer of this petition to be conſidered as the exordium of what he had to ſay. He complained of the difficulties which in civil wars lay upon moderate men, who adviſed lenient meaſures; that their moderation was attributed to a want of zeal, and their fears for the public ſafety, to a want of ſpirit; that on this particular occaſion, whatever they ſaid to incline the Houſe to lenity, was conſtrued into a countenance of rebellion; and ſo many arts, and ſo many menaces had been uſed, that, if they had not been oppoſed with a good ſhare of firmneſs by the friends to the peace of their country, all freedom of debate, and indeed all public deliberation, would have been put an end to.

He ſaid, that for his part he was no way intimidated by all theſe machinations from doing his duty; and that nothing that could be threatened by thoſe whoſe meaſures had brought this coun-

try

try into so deplorable a situation, should hinder him from using his best endeavours to deliver it from its distresses.

He then stated the war-arrangements as inadequate to the end proposed; said, no military officer of rank in that House would step forth, and pledge himself for their success; nor would, he was sure, the commissariate answer for the subsistence of the troops after they shall have quitted the sea-coast in America.

He treated the ministerial plan of war and negotiation held forth in the speech, as childish and impracticable; and was very severe on the power given to commissioners to pardon or to punish according to their pleasure, singly or collectively, men, or bodies of men, whom they should judge friendly or adverse to the common cause; and instanced the proclamation of Gen. Gage [xxxvii. 373.], which proscribes Hancock and Adams at 500 miles distance employed in a civil department, but passes over Washington and Putnam engaged in actual war against him, and by whom he was blocked up. [xxxvii. 456.]

The number of troops, he said, whether national or foreign, employed on this occasion, weighed very little with him, as he thought the circumstances of the country such as would disable them from subduing America by conquest; and as to the predatory war, or war by distress, he said, it might irritate the colonies, and unite them more firmly in opposition, but such a war had never yet induced any people to receive the government of another. As therefore he saw no probability of succeeding in the way of coercion, he could see no dishonour in amicably adjusting our domestic quarrels by way of concession; and, if upon cool deliberation the House should judge it necessary to make any concession, he was of opinion, that it ought to be done immediately, and out of mere grace.

We are now, he said, engaged in a quarrel, and in putting an end to any quarrel it is necessary to look to its origin: That the origin of the present difference had evidently been upon the subject of taxation: That an adjustment of this question, either by enforcement or concession, was a preliminary essential to peace: That the House ought to estimate the full value of the object to be conceded, before they agree to give it up: If they were of opinion, that the taxation of America could repay them their expences, or compensate their risks, they ought to pursue it; if, on the contrary, it was evident beyond all contradiction, and so evident as to force reiterated acknowledgements, that they never could enjoy a moment's quiet as long as that matter of contention continued, it was then altogether as essential to the preservation of their own authority in all other points, as to the liberty of America, and the quiet of the whole empire, to give it up, with such limitations in the concession as the rights of sovereignty required:

That although taxation was inherent in the supreme power of society, taken as an aggregate, it did not follow that it must reside in any particular power in that society: That in the society of England, for instance, the King is the sovereign; but the power of the purse is not in his hands; and this does not derogate from his power in those things in which our constitution has attributed power to him. If Parliament be the sovereign power of America, Parliament may, by its own act, for wise purposes, put the local power of the purse into other hands than its own, without disclaiming its just prerogative in other particulars:

That formerly, whatever their right might be to it, the Kings of England were in the practice of levying taxes by their own authority upon the people of England: They contended, That the crown being charged with the public defence, must be furnished also with the means of providing for it; that it would be absurd to commit a trust into the hands of one person, and to leave the power of executing it to depend upon the will of another: they therefore held, that this power was inseparable from the crown; and in general they made use of the very arguments in favour of the King's indefeasible right to tax the people of England, that are now used by the Parliament of England to tax the people of America. Notwithstanding all these arguments, one of the greatest of our kings, by an express and positive act, cut off from the sovereign power this right of taxing.

This act, which has been the foundation of the unity and happiness of England since that time, that is, the stat. 35° Edward I. called, *Statutum de tallagio non concedendo*, Mr Burke made his pattern; and from thence (if his plan should be adopted) he hoped the same good effects in future: That this pattern-statute was

abſolutely ſilent about the right; but confined itſelf to giving ſatisfaction in future; and that it laid down no general principles which might tend to affect the royal prerogative in other particulars: That in all human probability the preſervation of the other branches of the prerogative was owing to the clear and abſolute ſurrender of this.

He then moved that the ſtatute *de tallagio non concedendo* might be read.

He obſerved, That this ſtatute conſiſted of three capital parts; a renunciation of taxing,— a repeal of all ſtatutes which had been made upon a contrary principle,— and a general pardon.— He then read a bill which he had formed on the model of that act, and ſhewed its conformity to the ſpirit of it, ſuppoſing G. Britain to ſtand in the place of the Sovereign, and America in that of the ſubject: That the circumſtances are not indeed in every reſpect exactly parallel, but that they are ſufficiently ſo to juſtify his following an example that gave ſatisfaction and ſecurity on the ſubject of taxes, and left all other rights and powers whatſoever exactly upon the bottom on which they ſtood before that arrangement had been made.

He then gave his reaſons for not adopting the method which (though not propoſed in the Houſe) has been frequently ſuggeſted in converſation by ſeveral friends and well wiſhers of America.

And firſt he mentioned the propoſal for repealing the declaratory act of 1766; which, he ſaid, was a thing impoſſible; for if that act were repealed, it would be a denial of legiſlative power, as extenſive as the affirmation of it in the act ſo repealed.

He next conſidered the propoſition for repealing all the acts ſince 1763. This he ſhewed likewiſe to be impoſſible, without ruining the whole ſyſtem of the trade laws, and ſome of thoſe laws alſo which are extremely beneficial to America: That all the laws which leaned upon the colonies, and were the cauſe or conſequence of our quarrel, were to be repealed in this bill; which made proviſion likewiſe for authoriſing ſuch a negotiation as might tend to the ſettlement of all thoſe leſſer matters, to the mutual advantage of the parties.

He ſaid, he was confident, both from the nature of the thing, and from information which did not uſe to fail him, that this bill would reſtore immediate peace; and as much obedience as could be expected after ſo rude a ſhock had been given to government, and after ſo long a continuance of public diſturbances: That in this bill a baſis was laid for ſuch ſatisfaction in the minds of all ſober people in America, as would enable government to fix and ſettle, if common prudence were employed in its future conſtruction and management. He appealed to the conſciences of the members; exhorting them not to truſt to general good intention, and to an opinion, that what they were doing was for the ſupport of government, when it was far from evident, that, under the name of government, it was not the ambition, the intereſt, the ignorance and obſtinacy of particular men, that they were ſupporting; that they were bound not to give confidence, where rational grounds of confidence did not appear; and that anarchy inſtead of government, and civil confuſion inſtead of peace and obedience, would be the conſequence of an encouragement given by that Houſe to a blind perſeverance in meaſures which were not conceived with wiſdom, or conducted with ability.

Sir George Savile ſaid, it would be the height of credulity to expect, that Britain could long retain her conſtitution, if America were reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery.

Sir Grey Cooper was for arming firſt, and offering conditions afterwards. He was for ſhewing favour, but extorting acknowledgement.

Lord Oſſory diſapproved of provoking a civil war at an immenſe expence, from no other motive but the pride of granting terms to the vanquiſhed; that the riſk was great, and the honour trifling.

The Lord Advocate of Scotland diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion, by aggravating the heinouſneſs of a contention againſt the power of the ſtate, and by exalting the power of the Britiſh parliament, which he ſaid was uncontroulable.

But of thoſe who oppoſed the motion, Gov. Pownal combated the propoſition on the moſt liberal ground.

He ſaid, The Hon. Gentleman had ſtated this buſineſs as lying in three lines of conſideration; the firſt, direct war; the ſecond, a mixture of war and negotiation; and, thirdly, his plan of conceſſion previous to all treaty; that is, conceſſions made as preliminaries to

peace,

peace. The firſt part of his ſpeech endeavours to prove, that war was impracticable; his ſecond part, that the mixt plan, as he calls it, muſt be a ſeries of fruitleſs perplexities. He ſays, it was neceſſary to diſpoſe of, as he expreſſed it, theſe two ideas firſt, that he might make way for the third, his own plan. In his manner of acting, he has juſtified the propriety of moving the previous queſtion; becauſe, Sir, if his plan cannot be conſidered till the mixt plan, which he ſuppoſes to be the miniſter's plan, is diſpoſed of, we ought to know, firſt, what that plan is. The ſpeech from the throne informs us, that there is ſome plan of pacification; we may take aſſurance, that the miniſters muſt lay that before us; according, therefore, to the Hon. Gentleman's own method preſcribed, we muſt diſpoſe of that, before we can come to the conſideration of his plan. But if there was not that reaſon from his own idea of the method of proceeding, I cannot but think it decent, to conſider firſt that plan of which the ſpeech from the throne has given the firſt notice, and not to ſuffer it to be anticipated by the intervention of any previous plan. If that gentleman had on any occaſion given notice, that he would offer to the Houſe propoſitions on any particular ſubject; and if, after ſuch notice, any other gentleman ſhould endeavour to anticipate him, by getting a previous day; I would certainly, in ſuch caſe, move the previous queſtion on that gentleman's motion, as I ſhall on this of the Hon. Gentleman to-day.

He ſays, Sir, ſuch is the ſtate of this American buſineſs, that we muſt either change their ſentiments by negotiation, or ſubdue the riſing ſpirit; that we cannot ſubdue the ſpirit which is up by war; that we cannot change it by any negotiation which, while war laſts, we can enter into; we muſt therefore previouſly make conceſſions; we muſt diſavow our declaration; repeal our acts; ſue for peace, and the Americans will give it to us, on his plan: we muſt previouſly regain their confidence "by removing the ground of the difference." On the plan he propoſes, we ſhall reſtore the former unſuſpecting confidence of the colonies. This, Sir, is the very queſtion now before you. Let us then conſider the conceſſions which he propoſes, and examine, by the beſt rule and only judge in this caſe, experience, what effect theſe conceſſions will have. He ſays, that as the Americans did, on the repeal of the ſtamp-act, reſign themſelves to their unſuſpecting confidence, ſo will they now, if his plan is adopted; and he has read from the Journals of the Congreſs their words as his authority. But as he has not read *all their* words, let us ſee how the whole ſtands. "*After the repeal of the ſtamp-act*, ſay they, having again reſigned ourſelves to our ancient unſuſpicious affections for the parent-ſtate, and anxious to avoid any controverſy with her, *in hopes of a favourable alteration in ſentiments and meaſures towards us, we did not preſs OUR OBJECTIONS* againſt the abovementioned ſtatutes made *ſubſequent* to that repeal." So far, then, it appears, from having no ſuſpicions, they had objections; objections to acts paſſed *ſubſequent* to the repeal; and theſe acts are ſpecified in their reſolves and proceedings to be, acts of 1766, the declaratory act, and the act for *granting duties* in lieu of others repealed. When, Sir, inſtead of alterations of ſentiments and meaſures towards them, one law was made, propoſed by this gentleman's friends, declaring a power to bind them *in all caſes whatſoever*; and one other, reciting, that although it was proper to repeal certain rates and duties, *on account of their inexpediency*, yet it was neceſſary to grant others in lieu of them, to his Majeſty, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, to be paid into the exchequer, and reſerved for the future diſpoſal of parliament; their content vaniſhed, they relapſed into their ſuſpicions, they began to come forward with their objections; and the New-York petition [xxxvii. 238, 9. 399.] was the firſt ſymptom of this. But, Sir, they not only were not, in fact, but they could not, on the principles from which they oppoſed our ſyſtem, be content. They objected to all laws laying duties for the expreſs purpoſe of a revenue. The 6th Geo. III. c. 52. granted duties to his Majeſty, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, to be paid as a revenue into the exchequer, and to be there at the diſpoſal of parliament. Many laws prior to this period gave and granted duties, and appropriated them to the purpoſe of revenue.

We have heard much of the act of navigation; and, by ſome miſtake, gentlemen under that idea refer to the act of trade 25° Car. II. The act of navigation directs, that all the commerce of the colonies ſhall be carried on in Britiſh

ſhipping, and enumerates a certain number of articles of the produce of the plantations which are to be brought to England only. The act of trade ſays, that there ſhall be anſwered and paid to his Majeſty, if bond ſhall not be firſt given to bring ſuch commodities to England, the rates there ſpecified. Here we find the preciſe idea of duties laid as a regulation of trade. But in the year 1696, in K. William's reign, we find, for the firſt time, theſe duties converted into a revenue: they are directed to be paid whether bond be given or not: revenue-officers, under the direction of the Lord High Treaſurer, are eſtabliſhed. If, therefore, we are to repeal all acts which grant duties as revenue, in 1696, not in 1764, was the ſyſtem changed? If, therefore, on that principle, we go back to 1763, we muſt of neceſſity go back to 1672. But leſt gentlemen ſhould doubt whether duties granted to his Majeſty were ever before 1764 appropriated to revenue, let them refer to the civil-liſt act of the firſt of Geo. I. There they will find, that the plantation duties, which, by the 25th Car. II. "were *granted* to his Majeſty, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, for ever, ſhall be brought and paid into the receipt of the exchequer, *for the purpoſes* in this act expreſſed," namely, the forming a fund for the civil liſt.

The Americans require the repeal of the poſt-office act, of the 5th Geo. III. That act, Sir, laid no new duties; it made new regulations; but it was the poſt-office act of the 10th of Q. Anne, which granted duties in America for the purpoſe of enabling her Majeſty to carry on the war. [xxvii. 674.]

It appears, therefore, as they were not, ſo they could not be content with what was done in 1766.

But to come to the preciſe propoſition of this day: It is a propoſal of a bill formed on the reſolutions which the Hon. Gentleman moved laſt year [xxxvii. 178.]. It came laſt year in reſolutions, it is now formed into a bill. Why, Sir, ſince this plan was propoſed, the congreſs, reiterating their demand of the repeal of all the acts of revenue and reſtriction ſince 1763, ſpecify particularly the declaratory law, and the revenue-act of 1766, which this bill particularly reſerves. After having recited fifteen heads of grievances, hear what they ſay in their own words: "But why ſhould we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one ſtatute it is declared, that parliament can of right bind us in all caſes whatſoever. What is to defend us againſt ſo enormous, ſo unlimited a power?" [xxxvii. 424.]

Whatever expectations that gentleman may have of confidence from the Americans in conſequence of this plan, he may be aſſured, that while the Americans are very willing to avail themſelves of the aſſiſtance of him and his friends, other perſons will have their confidence. The gentleman and his friends bid as low as they can in conſcience go; but others have bid lower: ſome are ready to go back to 1763; others think you ſhould go ſtill further. The Americans expect that we ſhould go further; for ſee on what ground they put themſelves, when they aſk only the repeal of the revenue and reſtrictive laws paſſed ſince 1763. Take it in their own words. "Reſolved, That the Congreſs do *confine themſelves at preſent* to the conſideration of ſuch rights as have been infringed ſince the year 1763, *poſtponing the further conſideration of the general ſtate of American rights to a future day.*"

From the firſt ſpring of this ſad buſineſs, having been for *modes of policy* in preference to *meaſures of force*, I having always thought, and invariably ſaid, that your ſyſtem called for reviſion and amendment, I have been againſt all partial conceſſions and repeals. I think it ſhould be laid on ſome baſis which is ſolid, and may be permanent; on ſuch whereon the liberties of America being fixed, the ſovereignty of the empire may be eſtabliſhed. It ſhould be taken up on ſome great and general ſyſtem. And ſuch I now expect, and ſhall therefore, although I give no negative, move the previous queſtion.

Mr Graves, ſeconded the motion for the previous queſtion.

Lord George Germaine ſaid, as he had held but one conduct in this American buſineſs, as he had been direct and explicit in that conduct, he now entered into office on the ſame principles, on the ſame line of conduct, and hoped he ſhould be always found deciſive, direct, and firm in it.

On the point of the legiſlative authority of this country, he ſhould always maintain that ſovereignty which was eſtabliſhed and founded on the conſtitution. On the point of taxation, although he ſhould never concede the right, he ſhould never object to the with-holding

with-holding the exercise of it, if other modes could be adopted. But if we are to have no peace unless we give up the right, the contest is brought to its fair issue; our internal resources are great; and we can never despair of that assistance which we may want.

Gentlemen call for answers to several questions; I stand forth, as far as my judgement can, and my advice goes, to give an answer. Are we, say some gentlemen, to give up taxation? Are we to have no American revenue? I do hope we shall; I trust we shall draw a revenue from America. Whether that shall be by the exercise of our right of taxation, or whether by any other mode, I do not think material. If the Americans, willing to join their aid to the common supply, and willing to share our common burdens with us, can propose any mode which will make them easy, which will remove their fears and jealousies; I shall be ready to adopt it. I wish they were in the situation of the year 1763, if the government of this country was so likewise. If our present system is wrong, let us avow it; consider, and rectify it. They have a right to every liberty which they can enjoy, consistent with the sovereignty and supremacy of this country. Let them be happy. No body can wish them more so than I do. But I have never changed my opinion as to the legislative supremacy of this country. What I have always held, I now stand in office to maintain.

To the question, What force is necessary? What do you mean to send? I answer, that the officers serving on the spot, those especially commanding, are the proper judges. What they, upon a full state of the service, think necessary, as far as my advice can go, shall be sent; not to be insulted. Such forces as are necessary to restore, maintain, and establish the power of this country in America, will not be wanting.

Much has been said about the plan of sending commissioners. My idea of that measure is, that they should not only have powers to pardon, but to inquire into grievances; and if the Americans, returning to a sense of their duty, should offer terms, (not with arms in their hands), they should be empowered to consider, and, on their submission, to take off those penal restrictions under which, from the nature of their conduct, the Americans now lie. If, by opening a door to retreat, the crown tries to induce them to lay down their arms, what can it do more? If they persist in their appeal to force, the force of this country must be exerted. The spirit of this country will go along with me in that idea, to suppress, to crush such rebellious resistance.

As to the gentleman's proposition, I think it has been fully proved, that it would not answer the expectation of those in America, whose confidence he meant to gain; that it does not go so far as they expected; not so far as some here would go; and previous concessions, as gratuitous preliminaries, whether accepted or not, without any thing offered on their part, would put us on worse ground, and remove the matter still further from the conciliation he proposes. I am therefore ready to give my negative to it, or rather, to join in the previous question.

Lord North.] I declare, that if I thought the motion would procure that conciliation which the Hon. Gentleman who made it has held out, I should be staggered. But it has appeared that this line of concession will not procure it; and it has been clearly marked to you, that this line is not sufficient. Therefore, were I of opinion with the Hon. Gentleman as to repealing all the acts he mentions, as I am as to some of them, these concessions would not procure the end he proposes, but put us upon still worse ground, and remove us farther from any conciliation this country can agree to. I think, for instance, that those penal and restrictive acts which have been indefinite as to the term of their operation, should be repealed, and the matter and purport of them thrown into one general act, framed to be enforced during the continuance of the war. The Hon. Gentleman [Mr Burke] has in his bill proposed to impower the King to call a congress in America. He has that power; has done it before; and may do it at any time. Besides, the proposed bill confines the power of the crown to treat only with the congress; therefore his Majesty can treat with no body else, if there were any persons disposed to offer terms of submission.

A little before four o'clock in the morning the previous question was put, That the question be now put? The House divided: Ayes 105, Noes 210.

AME-

AMERICA. [26.]

A letter from Gen. Lee to Capt. Kennedy, of the 44th regiment.

Camp before Boſton, Nov. 6. 1775.

My dear Kennedy,

I Regularly every morning addreſs my prayers to all the gods, that they would pour down their choiceſt curſes on the heads of that junto, who, by their politics, bid fair to ſubvert the moſt goodly fabric that human wiſdom, or the hand of accident, ever conſtructed. The pillars on which the Britiſh conſtitution and Britiſh freedom were raiſed, I thought, were ſo ſolid, that nothing merely human could have ſhaken them; — at leaſt I flattered myſelf, that their duration would have been greater than the glorious republics of Sparta or Rome. — But the devil, it ſeems, is of late grown more deviliſh: inſtead of being miſchievouſly frolickſome, and driving down a herd of pigs from the top of a rock into the ſea, he is become downright vicious; — inſtead of killing the camels and ſheep of a private gentleman, (as in the affair of poor Job), he has raiſed up a B—, M——, and N——; and commanded them to prepare a dagger, and aim it at the vitals of all mankind, and their poſterity. I could mention ſome higher agents, but as you are an officer, I think myſelf, in decency, obliged to refrain. — To return therefore to what I meant to ſay: — When I have tired myſelf with curſing the junto for their wholeſale miſchief, I naturally deſcend to the detail; and in the catalogue of complaints, the variance at which they have ſet me with my particular friends and companions ſtands at the head; — and of this catalogue you, my dear Kennedy, have ever held the foremoſt rank. — I do not flatter, when I ſay, (to uſe the language of Shakeſpeare), "Since my dear ſoul was miſtreſs of herſelf, and could of men diſtinguiſh, her election has ſealed thee for her choice."

Every circumſtance conſpired to our conſonance: You have naturally a ſolid good underſtanding, with a dry mother-wit; I (if it may not appear vain to ſay it) am poſſeſſed of a ſort of wild imagination, and unruly good ſenſe; your phlegm and whimſicality played a moſt admirable counter-tenor, we of courſe never were at diſcord; in fact I do not recollect an inſtance when our ſtrings grated; upon the whole I know not a man with whom I think I could paſs my time ſo harmoniouſly. But to quit this muſical metaphor, and aſſume a graver ſtyle, I moſt ſincerely lament, that from your eventual ſituation, you find yourſelf imbarked in a moſt wicked and infamous cauſe. I lament that Fortune (combating againſt Nature) ſhould have inrolled you under the ſtandard of a more accurſed tyranny than hiſtory can parallel. Should you be ſo perverted as not to admit of the wickedneſs of your cauſe, you muſt at leaſt allow, that your circumſtances are ridiculous; and I can aſſure you for your comfort, they will become more ridiculous every day. Can you, can any man in your whole army, ſeriouſly think the miniſtry can ſucceed? The great ground on which they ſeem to have proceeded, was the perſuaſion that the colonies would not be unanimous. Of all the errors they have committed (though their whole adminiſtration has been one continued iſſue of errors) this is the greateſt. New York, on which they chiefly built, never was with them. It is true, a few placemen, penſioners, and expectants, flattered them with the hopes of defection; but the bulk of the people always thought and were determined to act with the reſt of America. The flight of the great Mr Tryon on board a ſhip, who had aſſured St James's, and was believed, of his almighty influence in that colony, is a teſtimony of the truth of what I advance. Georgia has acceded to the union. The Canadians, who are very far from being the beaſts your miniſtry conceived them, are with us to a man. Is there a mortal breathing, then, not abſolutely a driveller, who can ſuppoſe the leaſt probability of ſucceſs to theſe your miſ-rulers? You will, I make no doubt, before this have heard of the reduction of Chamblee, chiefly effected by the Canadians. But I will not dwell upon ſuch a ſubject, leſt it ſhould appear like exultation, unworthy of thoſe engaged in the glorious cauſe of virtue and of liberty. — Is our friend Dunbar with you? He muſt be ſtrangely altered by bad company, if he is an enemy to Americans, and the principles on which Americans now act. On board ſhip I am ſure his language was one continued execration of miniſterial conduct, more particularly with regard to this continent. But whatever he ſays, whatever he does, I ſhall and muſt continue

tinue to love him. I beg you will aſſure him of this; — and ſay, beſides, I daily abuſe General Putnam for his folly in giving him up. — I believe I had it in my power, I am ſure I had it in my will, to have made a proviſion for him more ſuitable to his merit, and (whatever he may affect) more ſuitable to his inclination, than a brigade majorſhip in your beſieged neſt, with all its concomitant diſhonourable circumſtances.

As the time is now near, my dear Kennedy, when you muſt either fall into our hands, or reimbark for England, I can only aſſure you of this, that ſhould the former be your deſtiny, and you are not too high-ſpirited a royaliſt to cohabit with a *rebel*, (though I believe the term will be changed to *Revolutioniſt* or *Reformiſt*), my home ſhall be your home; — but if the latter is your fate, I can only wiſh you all the happineſs I think you deſerving of.

CHARLES LEE.

To Colonel L.

SIR,

IN anſwer to your advice in your letter, I take the liberty to give you mine in return.

It is an indiſpenſable point in all governments, that they who enjoy the benefits of protection, ſhould contribute to the ſupport of that government that protects them. Conſult then with your new friends, and deviſe in what manner this can beſt be done; for hitherto you have offered nothing but to be exempt from all obligation, and to give and not give as you chuſe. Had the inhabitants of any part of Britain claimed this, they would be eſteemed juſtly as rebels, and treated accordingly. Why ſhould you expect to be otherwiſe dealt with, who call yourſelves Engliſhmen, and claim the privileges, but will not bear any part of the burdens?

You ſay you are not repreſented. — Then why do you not deſire to be repreſented? It is as poſſible to have your members in parliament, as to have your agents in London. If you decline this — it is plain you would have the benefit of government without the burden: unreaſonable terms, that no Briton (that deſerves the name) can ſubmit to.

You own what is expected is no grievance, otherwiſe than as it affects the favourite principle, "Freemen are governed only by laws of their own making;" a flattering principle in ſpeculation, which it is impoſſible to reduce to practice. Who of us ever conſented to the laws that were made before we were born? or to the common law of the land, never written at all? Women have no votes for members, are they all ſlaves! Not one man in twenty has a vote, yet he is as free as they that have. Of them that have votes, few ever give them, elections being uſually ſettled by ſome leading men. When I give my vote, the man I wiſh may not be choſen; or if choſen, he may not vote as I deſire: — In either of theſe caſes, I have no hand in making laws; nay, the minority of the members themſelves cannot be ſaid to be governed by laws of their own making. See now what your favourite principle dwindles to. And can you conſciencioufly draw your ſword againſt your native country, to maintain ſuch a precarious ſpeculative principle, impoſſible to be reduced to practice, otherwiſe than by that way of virtual repreſentation, which equally includes the Americans, and all the millions of Britain, except three or four hundred?

Believe me, Sir, your friends act on no ſuch principle at all; but the ſelfiſh ungrateful principle of caſting the burden on others, and then inſulting them for their tame folly.

Conſult the ſtatutes, and you will find the colonies have all along been taxed. With reſpect to tea in particular, they paid a ſhilling in the pound, till this ſhilling was exchanged for three-pence. Why did they murmur then? Becauſe by this change Hancock and his brother-ſmugglers found their trade like to be deſtroyed.

There are but three poſſible ways of accommodating matters; conſult with your aſſociates which is moſt agreeable, and propoſe them to the commiſſioners to be ſent. 1. Either ſubmit to be governed as colonies by the laws of the mother-country as hitherto, or propoſe ſome reaſonable equivalent to be raiſed by yourſelves. 2. Or ſecondly, become a part of the governing empire, by ſending repreſentatives. Or, 3. Separate as entirely from G. Britain as his Majeſty's German dominions. Only in this laſt caſe, it is highly reaſonable that you take on yourſelves a ſhare of the national debt, as it was contracted in promoting the welfare of America as well as Britain. If neither of theſe pleaſe you; if you

will, neither directly nor indirectly, convey any intelligence, nor give any advice, to the aforeſaid enemies deſcribed; and that I pledge myſelf, if I ſhould by any accident get knowledge of ſuch treaſons, to inform immediately the committee of ſafety: And as it is juſtly allowed, that when the rights and ſacred liberties of a nation or community are invaded, neutrality is not leſs baſe and criminal than open and avowed hoſtility; I do further ſwear, and pledge myſelf, as I hope for eternal ſalvation, that I will, whenever called upon by the voice of the continental congreſs, or by that of the legiſlature of this particular colony under their authority, take arms, and ſubject myſelf to military diſcipline in defence of the common rights and liberties of America. So help me God.

The examinations of John Connelly, Allan Cameron, and Dr John Smith [25.], taken in the committee-chamber, Frederick-town, Maryland, Nov. 23. were publiſhed by order of the congreſs; as were likewiſe two articles relating to the Indians, viz.

"*Extract of a letter from Gen. Schuyler, dated, Albany, Dec.* 14. 1775. The Indians delivered us a ſpeech on the 12th, in which they related the ſubſtance of all the conferences Col. Johnſon, the King's ſuperintendent of Indian affairs, had with them the laſt ſummer, concluding with that at Montreal, where he delivered to each of the Canadian tribes, a war-belt and the hatchet, who accepted it; after which they were invited to "feaſt on a Boſtonian, and drink his blood." An ox being roaſted for the purpoſe, and a pipe of wine given to drink, the war-ſong was ſung. One of the chiefs of the Six Nations, that attended at that conference, accepted a very large black war-belt, with a hatchet depictured in it; but would neither eat, nor drink, nor ſing the war-ſong. This famous belt they have delivered up; and we have now a full proof that the miniſterial ſervants have attempted to engage the ſavages againſt us."

"The following is a ſpeech ſent from Lord Dunmore to Capt. White Eyes, one of the chiefs of an Indian tribe.

"Brother Captain White Eyes,

I am glad to hear your good ſpeeches ſent to me by Major Connelly; and you may be aſſured I ſhall put the one end of the belt which you have ſent me, into the hands of our great King, who will be glad to hear from his brothers the Delawares, and will take a ſtrong hold of it. You may reſt ſatisfied, that our fooliſh young men ſhall never be permitted to have your lands, but, on the contrary, the great King will protect you, and preſerve you in the poſſeſſion of them. Our young people in the country have been very fooliſh, and done many imprudent things, for which they ſoon muſt be ſorry, and of which I make no doubt they have acquainted you; but I muſt deſire you not to liſten to them, as they would be willing that you ſhould act equally fooliſh with themſelves. But rather let what you hear paſs in at one ear and out at the other, ſo that it may make no impreſſion on your heart, until you hear from me fully, which ſhall be ſo ſoon as I can give farther information, who am your friend and brother.

Capt. White Eyes will pleaſe to acquaint the Corn Stalk with theſe my ſentiments alſo, as well as the chiefs of the Mingoes, and the other Six Nations. Your ſincere friend and elder brother,

DUNMORE."

Connelly and Cameron were cloſely confined till the orders of the congreſs ſhould be known; and Smith till further orders from the provicial committee.

An unſucceſsful attack was made on the provincials in Virginia.

"*Williamſburgh, Dec.* 11. The following intelligence is juſt received from the army at the Great Bridge, near Norfolk. Saturday morning, the 9th inſtant, about three o'clock, the miniſterial garriſon at the bridge was reinforced with about 200 of the 14th regiment, under the command of Capt. Leſlie; and at break of day about 500 paſſed the bridge to force our breaſt-works; but were repulſed, with the loſs of Capt. Fordyce, and twelve privates ſlain, and Lieut. Batut, and ſeventeen privates taken, all wounded. The reſt retreated under cover of their cannon from the fort, and were allowed to return, and collect their dead and wounded, ſuppoſed to be about fifty. During the whole action we did not loſe a ſingle man, and only one was wounded ſlightly in the hand."

"*Extracts of three letters from Col. William Woodford to the Hon. Edmund Pendleton, Preſident of the General Convention.*

Dec. 10. A ſervant belonging to Maj. Marſhall, who deſerted the other night from Col. Scott's party, has completely

pletely taken his Lordſhip in. Lieut. Batut, who is wounded, and at preſent my priſoner, informs, that this fellow told them, that not more than 300 ſhirtmen were here; and that imprudent man catched at the bait, diſpatching Capt. Leſlie with all the regulars, (about 200), who arrived at the bridge about three o'clock in the morning, joined by about 300 black and white ſlaves, laid planks upon the bridge, and croſſed juſt after our revielle had beat; a lucky time for us, and you'll ſay rather an improper ſeaſon for them to make their puſh, when, of courſe, all our men muſt be under arms. The above Lieutenant commanded the advanced party, and Capt. Fordyce of the grenadiers, led the van with his company; who, for his coolneſs and bravery, deſerved a better fate, as well as the brave fellows who fell with him, who behaved like heroes. They marched up to our breaſt-work with fixed bayonets, and perhaps a hotter fire never happened, or a greater carnage, for the number of troops. None of the Blacks, &c. in the rear with Capt. Leſlie, advanced further than the bridge. I have the pleaſure to inform you, that the victory was complete, and that moſt of the dead and wounded, with two pieces of cannon, were carried off, under cover of their guns, from the fort. We buried twelve, beſides the captain, (him with all military honours due to his rank); and have priſoners, Lieut. Batut and ſixteen privates, all wounded: twenty-five ſtands of arms and accoutrements, three officers fuzees, powder, ball, and cartridges, with ſundry other things, have likewiſe fallen into our hands.

"*Great Bridge, Dec.* 11. Since I wrote yeſterday, nothing of moment has happened, but the enemy's abandoning the fort. We took poſſeſſion of it in the morning, and found ſix pieces of cannon, which they had ſpiked up, ſeven guns and a bayonet, a few ſhot, a quantity of ſpades and ſhovels, ſome bedding, two barrels of bread, and twenty quarters of beef. Lieut. Batut having an inclination to inform the King's troops of the humane treatment he met with here, I diſpatched Enſ. Hoomer, with a flag of truce, and the Lieutenant's letter; who returned with the following anſwer from the fort.—"Capt. Leſlie preſents his compliments to Mr Batut, and returns Col. Woodford his ſincere thanks for the kind treatment of the priſoners. He is happy Mr Batut's wound is ſo ſlight; but is extremely ſorry for the loſs of poor Fordyce." The unfortunate Capt. Fordyce was a captain of grenadiers in the 14th regiment, and moſt of the ſoldiers were grenadiers of that regiment. As the Captain was a gallant and a brave officer, I promiſed to inter him with all the military honours due to his great merit, which I hope will meet with the approbation of the Hon. Convention."

"*Great Bridge, Dec.* 12. Lt Col. Stephens arrived at Kemp's Landing laſt night, and, agreeable to my orders, ſent a party to ſecure every perſon in the neighbourhood, that had left Norfolk ſince the battle of the Great Bridge. He informs he has Mr Max. Calvert, Dr Campbell, Mr Matthew Phripp, and others, now with him.—Two gentlemen this moment brought me in a young Scotſman, named Hamilton, who confeſſes he has bore arms, and was at this port in Gilmour's company; he was making the beſt of his way to Nanſemond. I have ordered him to be coupled to one of his black brother-ſoldiers, with a pair of handcuffs, which is the reſolution I have taken ſhall be the fate of all thoſe cattle, till I am further inſtructed by your Hon. Houſe."

"*Ship William, off Norfolk, Dec.* 25. Lord Dunmore having certain intelligence about a month ſince, of a large body of the rebel-army being on their march to deſtroy Norfolk, becauſe its inhabitants had profeſſed their loyalty to government; in order to prevent their wicked intentions, ſent a party of the 14th regiment to a narrow paſs through which the rebels were to march, and erected a fort there, about eighteen miles from Norfolk. This was garriſoned with twenty-five men, and a few volunteers from Norfolk. The rebels approached, and made ſeveral unſuceeſsful attacks, but were always repulſed with loſs; till on the 8th inſtant his Lordſhip receiving information that a party of the rebels had got over, and propoſed to attack the fort on both ſides, it was judged neceſſary to attack the main body; which accordingly was done early on the morning of the 9th, by a detachment of the 14th under Capt. Leſly, about 130 in number, with a party of marines, and ſome volunteers from Norfolk, and Princeſs Anne, in all about 250. This ſmall detachment made a furious attack upon the rebels intrenchments, and after ev-

ry effort which Britiſh ſoldiers could do, were obliged to retreat, with the loſs of the brave Capt. Fordyce, two lieutenants, and about fifteen privates killed, and forty wounded, fifteen of which fell into the rebels hands, including a lieutenant. The rebels were poſted in great ſtrength, 1100 in number. So what could our ſmall party do, upwards of four to one againſt them, and ſtrongly intrenched? The conſequence of this repulſe was, that we were obliged to abandon the fort, and likewiſe Norfolk, and take ſhelter on board the ſhips. I hope the time will ſoon arrive, when theſe rebellious ſavages will be ſeverely puniſhed for their crimes. Some few of the friends of government who fall into their hands, they treat with the greateſt cruelty, chaining them to negroes, &c. There are now about 2000 of them in Norfolk and the neighbourhood, and they having ſtopt all ſupplies to the ſhips, it is imagined the ſhips of war will deſtroy the town in a few days. The Liverpool, King Fiſher, and Otter, are now lying before the town for that purpoſe. Lord Dunmore has done every thing for the cauſe of his King and country which man could do; and had a thouſand troops arrived two months ſince, he would have had Virginia totally reduced to obedience by this time."

A midſhipman on board the Otter war-ſhip, Capt. Squires, gives the following account. "Dec. 9. our troops, with about ſixty townſmen from Norfolk, and a detachment of ſailors from the ſhips, among whom I had the honour to march, ſet out from Norfolk to attack once more the rebels at the Great Bridge; who had been lodged there ſome time, and had erected a breaſtwork oppoſite to our fort on their ſide of the river. We arrived at the fort half an hour after three in the morning, and after refreſhing ourſelves, prepared to attack the rebels in their intrenchments. — Capt. Squires, ever ready to aſſiſt my Lord in the public cauſe, had ſent his gunners and men to manage two pieces of cannon, who were put in the front, and ordered to begin the attack. But how can it be ſuppoſed, that with 200 men we could force a ſtrong intrenchment defended by at leaſt 2000? Yet this was attempted, and we marched up to their works with the intrepidity of lions. But, alas! we retreated with much fewer brave fellows than we took out. Their fire was ſo heavy, that had we not retreated as we did, we ſhould every one have been cut off. Figure to your ſelf a ſtrong breaſtwork built acroſs a cauſeway, on which ſix men only could advance a-breaſt: a large ſwamp almoſt ſurrounded them; at the back of which were too ſmall breaſtworks, to flank us in our attack on their intrenchments. Under theſe diſadvantages it was impoſſible to ſucceed. Yet our men were ſo enraged, that all the intreaties, and ſcarcely the threats of their officers, could prevail on them to retreat; which at laſt they did. The cannon were ſecured within the fort. We had ſixty killed, wounded, and taken priſoners; among whom were the gallant Capt. Fordyce of the grenadiers of the 14th brigade, Lieut[s] Napier, and Leſlie, and Lieut. Batut wounded and taken priſoner; men all univerſally eſteemed, and for whom all ſhed tears. We ſet out on our return to Norfolk about ſeven o'clock in the evening, at which place we arrived at twelve, and the ſoldiers were imbarked on board veſſels prepared for that purpoſe.

Dec. 14. The rebels having now nothing to obſtruct their paſſage, arrived, and took poſſeſſion of Norfolk, and in the evening ſaluted us with a volley of ſmall arms; on which, the next morning, I was ſent on ſhore to their commander, to inform him, that if another ſhot was fired at the Otter, they muſt expect the town to be knocked about their ears."

This midſhipman's letter is dated Jan. 9. and it concludes thus. "The deteſted town of Norfolk is no more! its deſtruction happened on new-year's day! About four o'clock in the afternoon the ſignal was given from the Liverpool, when a dreadful cannonading began from the three ſhips, which laſted till it was too hot for the rebels to ſtand on their wharfs. Our boats now landed, and ſet fire to the town in ſeveral places. It burnt fiercely all night, and the next day; nor are the flames yet extinguiſhed: but no more of Norfolk remains than about twelve houſes which have eſcaped the flames!"

"The provincials," ſays another letter," had fired ſeveral times on the men of war's men as they came aſhore for water and other neceſſaries, and at laſt were ſo ſucceſsful in this practice, that ſeldom a party eſcaped without one of their men being killed by a fire from ſome of their riflemen. This was at firſt complained of to no purpoſe: at length Lord Dunmore,

more, and the commanders of the men of war, reſolved to ſhew a proper reſentment at ſuch conduct, by ſetting fire to ſome houſes and warehouſes along ſhore, near where their ſhips lay. This brought on a firing from the provincials, which did not laſt long: but they, in revenge, and as it were to ſhew their ſpirit and reſolution, ſet fire to ſome large houſes in the middle of the town. Theſe two fires ſoon conſumed a great part of the town. Lord Dunmore had eighteen men killed, and about thirty or forty wounded, in the different landings and ſkirmiſhes."

"The Liverpool man of war," ſays a third letter, "being arrived at Norfolk from England, the Captain ſent on ſhore for water; which was denied him. He then armed two boats, and ſent them to demand water; when the Americans fired upon the man of war's men, and killed two or three of them. In conſequence of which they immediately fired upon the town, and ſet it on fire in two or three places. The provincials afterwards ſet fire to the whole town; then went over to Portſmouth, and burnt that likewiſe."

Letters from Halifax in Nova Scotia mention the arrival there, Dec. 22. of Col. Maſſey, with the 27th regiment of foot, all well and healthy,

On the 2d of December Gov. Tryon diſſolved the general aſſembly of New York.

From the New York Gazette.

"*Ship Ducheſs of Gordon, off New York, Dec.* 18.

"SIR, I loſe no time in tranſmitting to you herewith, a letter I this morning received from Capt. Parker, of his Majeſty's ſhip Phœnix, communicating certain inſtructions he had received from Vice-Adm. Graves, for the rule of his conduct on this ſtation; which letter you will forthwith make known to the corporation and citizens of New York; and I requeſt you will inſert it in the public papers, to the end that the inhabitants of the province may have the comfort of knowing the protection that is afforded to the friends of order and good government, and be warned to avoid a continuation of meaſures that will involve the country in miſery, and bring deſtruction upon their families, and on their own heads. I am, Sir, your very humble ſervant, WM TRYON.

Whitehead Hicks, Eſq; Mayor of the city of New York."

"SIR, Phœnix, at New York, Dec. 18.

Being ordered by my inſtructions from Vice-Adm. Graves, commander in chief of his Majeſty's ſhips and veſſels in North America, publicly to ſignify to all towns acceſſible to his Majeſty's ſhips, that in caſe any violences ſhall hereafter be offered to any of the officers of the crown, or other peaceably-diſpoſed ſubjects of his Majeſty; or if any bodies of men ſhall be raiſed and armed in the ſaid towns, or any military works erected, otherwiſe than by order of his Majeſty, or thoſe acting under his authority; or if any attempts ſhall be made to ſeize or deſtroy any public magazines of arms, ammunition, or other ſtores; in all or either of thoſe caſes it will be my duty to treat the ſaid towns as in open rebellion againſt the King.

I am to requeſt that your Excellency will be pleaſed to let the above inſtructions be publicly made known in the town of New York. At the ſame time you will aſſure them, that I ſhall be happy in granting the town every protection in the power of his Majeſty's ſhips under my command. I am, Sir, your moſt obedient, and moſt humble ſervant,

H. PARKER.

To his Excellency Governor Tryon."

"*In Provincial Congreſs, New York, Dec.* 22. Whereas ſundry perſons whoſe conduct in the neighbouring colonies, of which they have been reſpectively inhabitants, has been unfriendly to liberty, and occaſioned their removal into this colony; and ſhould removals continue, the number of diſaffected perſons of this colony will be increaſed, and the ſame be diſreputably conſidered as an aſylum for the enemies to the liberties of America: Reſolved, That every perſon not an inhabitant, entering into this colony, ſhall be furniſhed with a certificate from the committee of the juriſdiction wherein he laſt reſided, that he is friendly to the liberties of America, or be ſubject to be dealt with as a perſon inimical thereto.

ROBERT BENSON, Secretary."

"*New York, Dec.* 25. By letters from Gen. Schuyler we learn, that Col. Eaſton had taken the veſſels bound from Montreal to Quebec, under the command of Carleton or Preſcot [19.]: That Carleton, with four or five Canadians, had landed from the fleet, and were making the beſt of their way to Quebec, in the dreſs of peaſants: That the brig Gaſpee, together

ther with ſeven ſloops and ſchooners, which are taken as above, had on board, who are alſo taken, Brig. Gen. Preſcot, Capt. William Dunbar, Major of Brigade, Capt. William Gamble, Quarter-maſter-General, Capt[s] Anſtruther, Swan, Crawford, and Harris; Lieut. Cleveland; Enſ[s] Gamble, Leſlie, Macdonald, Dr Beaumont, and 150 privates, and moſt of them of the 26th regiment, and the artillery. There were on board the veſſels two cannon of nine and two of ſix pounders, thirty cannon-cartridges, and forty-five ball; three barrels of powder, 2380 muſket-cartridges, eight cheſts of arms, 200 pair of ſhoes, a quantity of intrenching tools, 760 barrels of flour, 20 of biſcuits, 675 barrels of beef, and 376 firkins of butter."

Quebec is ſo cloſely blockaded [20.], that government of a long time have had no communication with it.—— [P. S.] What follows is in the London Gazette.

"*Whitehall, March* 9. A tranſport brig, The Three Siſters, Capt. Smith maſter, is arrived in twenty-eight days from New York, with diſpatches from Gov. Tryon, incloſing the following account, publiſhed by order of the Continental Congreſs, of an attempt made early in the morning of the 31ſt December by the rebel-army, under the command of General Montgomery, to take the town of Quebec by ſtorm; in which attempt they were defeated, and General Montgomery, and a number of officers, and about 60 private men, killed, and about 300 taken priſoners.

"*Philadelpia Jan.* 25. 1776. The laſt letters from Canada bring an account of an unſucceſsful attempt made to gain poſſeſſion of Quebec by ſtorm on the 31ſt of December laſt, between the hours of two and ſeven in the morning.

"The General, finding his cannon too light to effect a breach, and that the enemy would not hearken to terms of capitulation, formed a deſign of carrying the town by eſcalade. In this he was encouraged by the extenſiveneſs of the works, and the weakneſs of the garriſon. When every thing was prepared, while he was waiting the opportunity of a ſnow-ſtorm to carry his deſign into execution, ſeveral men deſerted to the enemy. His plan at firſt was to have attacked the upper and lower town at the ſame time, depending principally for ſucceſs againſt the upper town: but diſcovering, from the motions of the enemy, that they were appriſed of his deſign, he altered his plan; and, having divided his little army into four detatchments, ordered two feints to be made againſt the upper town, one by Col. Livingſton, at the head of the Canadians, againſt St John's gate; the other by Capt. Brown, at the head of a ſmall detatchment, againſt Cape Diamond; reſerving to himſelf and Col. Arnold the two principal attacks againſt the lower town.

At five o'clock, the hour appointed for the attack, the General, at the head of the New-York troops, advanced againſt the lower town at Aunce de Mere. Being obliged to take a circuit, the ſignal for the attack was given, and the garriſon alarmed, before he reached the place: however, preſſing on, he paſſed the firſt barrier, and was juſt opening to attempt the ſecond, when by the firſt fire from the enemy he was unfortunately killed, together with his aid-de-camp, Capt. John Macpherſon, Capt. Cheeſeman, and two or three more. This ſo diſpirited the men, that Col. Campbell, on whom the command devolved, found himſelf under the diſagreeable neceſſity of drawing them off.

In the mean while Col. Arnold, at the head of about 350 of thoſe brave troops, (who with unparalleled fatigue had penetrated Canada under his command), and Capt. Lamb's company of artillery, had paſſed through St Roques, and approached near a two-gun battery without being diſcovered. This he attacked, and, though it was well defended for about an hour, carried it with the loſs of a number of men. In this attack Col. Arnold had the misfortune to have his leg ſplintered by a ſhot, and was obliged to be carried to the hoſpital. After gaining the battery, his detatchment paſſed on to a ſecond barrier, which they took poſſeſſion of. By this time the enemy, relieved from the other attacks, by our troops being drawn off, directed their whole force againſt this detachment, and a party ſallying out from Palace Gate, attacked them in the rear.

Theſe brave men ſuſtained the force of the whole garriſon for three hours; but finding themſelves hemmed in, and no hopes of relief, they were obliged to yield to numbers, and the advantageous ſituation the garriſon had over them.

No regular return is yet come to hand, but, by the advices received, we learn, that our loſs in killed and wounded amounts

mounts to about 60, and 300 taken priſoners, who are treated very humanely.

Among the ſlain are Capt Kendricks and Lieut. Humphries of the rifflemen, and Lieut. Cooper.

After this unfortunate repulſe, the remainder of the army retired about three miles from the city, where they have poſted themſelves advantageouſly, and are continuing the blockade, waiting for reinforcements, which are now on their march to join them.

Every poſſible mark of diſtinction was ſhewn to the corpſe of Gen. Montgomery, who was interred in Quebec on the 2d of January.

Publiſhed by order of the Congreſs.

CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary."

"*Savannah, in Georgia, Nov.* 29. There was a very hot engagement the 18th inſtant between the rebels, and a party of the royaliſts, which laſted three days, at which time the rebels were obliged to ſurrender a fort and priſoners. I am much afraid this is only a prelude to more bloodſhed in this corner, for the rebels are making preparations for another attack."

Another letter of the ſame date from the ſame place ſays, "We are informed, that the province of South Carolina is involved in all the horrors of a civil war. Col. Robert Cuningham, a very conſiderable planter in the back ſettlements, being ſuſpected of attachment to the King's cauſe, was ſeized by a party ſent in the diſguiſe of Indian traders from Charleſtown by the committee of ſafety, and cloſely confined in the common gaol of that town. Mr Patrick Cuningham, brother to the Colonel, having collected together the tenants and dependents of their family, ſeized ſome powder and ſhot belonging to the committee, and, erecting the royal ſtandard, declared for his Majeſty and Great Britain againſt all rebels and their abettors. The committee, in the mean time, ordered three detachments of their army to march from different quarters, and to diſperſe the inſurgents. A Colonel Williamſon, with 1200 men, firſt arriving, took poſſeſſion of a ſtockade fort; where he was inſtantly beſieged by Cuningham with his party. Williamſon, having remained confined for two days in the fort, deſtitute of proviſions and water, was forced to ſally with his men on the third day; but they were attacked by Cuningham in the attempt, and totally diſperſed. The committee-men made ſo good uſe of their heels, that only twenty-five were killed in the flight, for fight there was none."

A third letter from the ſame place, dated Dec. 16. ſays, "In this province two out of three are friends to government; but as there are neither ſhips nor troops to protect them, they know it is in vain to oppoſe the current, as the Carolina people are all in arms. The Governor here, as well as in the other provinces, is a mere cipher: every thing is tranſacted by the committee, compoſed of barbers, tailors, cordwainers, &c.; whoſe inſolence and pertneſs would raiſe any Engliſhman's indignation; for the better ſort endeavour to keep their own necks out of the halter, and make uſe of theſe fellows only as cats paws. A ſon of Jonas Brown, of Whitby, had got ſeveral thouſands in the back country brought over to that intereſt; but about a month ago a mob of about 100 diſſolute fellows ſurrounded his houſe, with an intention to tar and feather him; upon which he came out armed; and while he was reaſoning the caſe with them at the door, he was knocked down with the butt-end of a muſket, then laid like a calf acroſs a horſe, and tied to a tree while yet inſenſible, and tarred and feathered. In a few days he recovered, and found his way to Lord William Campbell at Charleſtown, who recommended him to the Governors of Georgia and Florida. He is now at Savannah; but is ordered by their *High Mightineſſes* to leave the province in ten days."

"*New York, Jan.* 8. On the 6th of December, at Quibble-town, in Middleſex county, New Jerſey, Thomas Randolph, cooper, who had publicly proved himſelf an enemy to his country, by reviling and uſing his utmoſt endeavours to oppoſe the proceedings of the continental and provincial conventions and committees, in defence of their rights and liberties; and he being judged a perſon of not conſequence enough for a ſeverer puniſhment, was ordered to be ſtripped naked, well coated with tar and feathers, and carried in a waggon publicly round the town,—which puniſhment was accordingly inflicted; and as he ſoon became duly ſenſible of his offence, for which he earneſtly begged pardon, and promiſed to atone as far as he was able, by a contrary behaviour for the future, he was releaſed, and ſuffered

ed to return to his houſe in leſs than half an hour. The whole was conducted with that regularity and decorum that ought to be obſerved in all public puniſhments."

Other letters ſay, that ſeveral perſons in this colony, who have avowed themſelves friends of the King and parliament, have been confined in the coppermines, and fed only with bread and water.

The continental congreſs made an act on the 2d of January, which the Americans call *the Tory act*. More decent behaviour is recommended by it, viz. "Whereas divers well-meaning but uninformed people in the colonies, have been deceived into erroneous opinions by the miniſterial agents; it is therefore recommended to the friends of liberty, to treat ſuch deluded perſons with kindneſs and attention, and to view their errors as proceeding rather from want of information than from want of virtue; and it is recommended to the ſeveral committees, to explain the origin, nature, and extent of the controverſy; to unfold the various arts of adminiſtration to enſlave them; and liberally to diſtribute among the people the reſolves of the congreſs, and the ſpeeches of the great patriots in both houſes of parliament, relating to American grievances. And with reſpect to all thoſe unworthy Americans who have taken part with our oppreſſors, the committees, conventions, &c. are ordered to fruſtrate their wicked practices, to diſarm them, and to keep the moſt dangerous of them in ſafe cuſtody; and for that purpoſe the commanding officers of the united colonies are ordered to furniſh the committees of ſafety with ſuch troops as they can ſpare. And we earneſtly recommend to the people in general, notwithſtanding the cruelty exerciſed on them by their enemies, to continue mindful, that humanity ought to diſtinguiſh the brave; to take care that no page in the annals of America may be ſtained by a recital of any action, which juſtice or Chriſtianity may condemn; and to reſt aſſured, that whenever retaliation may be neceſſary, the congreſs will undertake the diſagreeable taſk. [18.]

"*London, Feb.* 21. The American congreſs are adjourned; and have appointed an executive committee of five, who are, Dr Franklin, and John Dickenſon, John Jay, Thomas Johnſon, and Benjamin Harriſon, Eſqs. A deputation of three other members are gone to Canada, to conſult the Canadians upon a form of government to be eſtabliſhed for that province, and to ſolicit their acceſſion to the general congreſs. The reſt of the delegates are returned to their reſpective provinces, to conſult their conſtituents upon a matter that will not only be ſurpriſing to G. Britain, but to all Europe." [xxxvii. 665.]

"*New York, Jan.* 8. By a veſſel from the Weſt-Indies, arrived at Providence, we learn, that a proclamation from St James's was lately publiſhed at the iſland of Barbadoes, forbidding the inhabitants of that iſland holding any correſpondence with the united colonies, on pain of being deemed rebels and traitors. Similar proclamations, it was expected, would be publiſhed in all the Engliſh Weſt-India iſlands."

A liſt of Britiſh forces in, and under orders for, America, in February 1776.

Now in North America.

17th drag. Preſton's,
4th foot, Hodgſon's,
5th ——, Percy's,
at Boſton.

7th foot, Bertie's, taken at Chamblé the greateſt part, the reſt with Carleton.

8th foot, Armſtrong's, at the upper poſts, Niagara, Detroit, &c.

20th foot, Sandford's,
22d ——, Gage's,
23d ——, Howe's,
at Boſton.

26th foot, Ld Adam Gordon's, late Scott's, taken the greateſt part at St John's, the reſt with Carleton.

35th foot, F. H. Campbell's,
38th ——, Pigot's,
40th ——, Hamilton's,
43d ——, Cary's,
44th ——, Abercrombie's,
45th ——, Haviland's,
47th ——, Carleton's,
49th ——, Maitland's,
52d ——, Clavering's,
63d ——, T. Grant's,
64th ——, Pomeroy's,
at Boſton,

65th foot, Urmſton's, at Boſton and Halifax.

Royal Artillery, at Boſton, five companies, each 1 captain, 1 captain-lieutenant, 1 firſt lieutenant, 3 ſecond lieutenants, 3 ſerjeants, 3 corporals, 6 bombardiers, 12 gunners, 1 fife, 2 drums, and 48 matroſſes.

1 company ditto, at Quebec.

1 company ditto, at Montreal, &c. part ſuppoſed to be taken.

1 com-

1 company ditto, at St Auguſtine's.
1 invalid company ditto, at Newfoundland.
Marines, intended to be made up to 2000.

Intended for North America.

29th foot, Evelyn's, now at Chatham, ſuppoſed to be deſtined for Quebec, and to ſail ſo as to arrive there as early as the navigation of the river St Lawrence will admit.
3d foot, J. Amherſt's,
9th ——, Ligonier's,
11th ——, A'Court's,
20th ——, Parker's,
24th ——, Taylor's,
31ſt ——, Oughton's,
34th ——, Ld F. Cavendiſh's,
53d ——, Elphinſtone's,
62d ——, Jones's,
ordered to be in readineſs for embarkation.
6th foot, Boothy's, now at St Vincent's.
14th ——, Cuningham's,
partly at St Auguſtine's, partly with Ld Dunmore, the reſt at Halifax.
15th foot, Cavan's, ready to ſail from Cork.
16th ——, Giſborne's, at Penſacola.
17th ——, Monkton's.
27th ——, Maſſey's,
on the paſſage from Ireland. Four companies of the 17th arrived at Boſton.
33d foot, Cornwallis's,
37th ——, Coote's,
ready to ſail from Cork.
42d foot, Lord John Murray's, recruiting in Scotland.
46th foot, Vaughan's, 7 companies put back to Cork, the other 3 on their paſſage to Boſton.
54th foot, Frederick's, ready to ſail from Cork.
55th foot, James Grant's, on their paſſage from Ireland.
57th foot, Irwin's, ready to ſail from Cork.
2 bat. Fraſer's, raiſing in Scotland, to conſiſt of 2000 men.
Goreham's and M'Lean's, raiſing in America, to conſiſt of 4 or 500 men each.
N. B. The marching regiments for the American ſervice are to conſiſt of 12 companies, of 56 effective rank and file each company; the Highland battalions, Ld J. Murray's of 1000, and Fraſer's of 2000 men.
16th drag. Burgoyne's, ordered for Boſton.
1000 of the guards to be draughted from the three regiments, and commanded by Col. Matthews.
Beſides the above Britiſh force, it is reckoned there will be 22,000 foreign auxiliaries; and that the ſhipping neceſſary for the embarkation will be 90,000 ton.

A letter to Lord George Germaine makes the force of the coloniſts amount to 428,400 effective men with arms in their hands.

On FRIENDSHIP.

From Miſs Edwards's Miſcellanies.

AWake, O Muſe! beyond each triſling ſcene,
To joys refin'd, exalted, and ſerene;
To joy that ſooths life's hurſh and rugged cares,
And for celeſtial bliſs the mind prepares.
On ſuch a theme, ye pow'rs of Verſe inſpire
My rural numbers with poetic fire.
Lend me, fair Harmony, your melting lays,
Whilſt I attempt to ſing in Friendſhip's praiſe.
Hail, ſacred Friendſhip! dear delightful name;
By thee inſpir'd, we feel the nobleſt flame:
Thou harmonizer of all human joy,
Thy charms divine the breaſt can never cloy.
At thy approach each wayward paſſion dies;
Pale Envy ſinks, and mean Suſpicion flies.
Congenial ſouls, link'd in this holy tie,
Can Fortune's frowns or threats with ſcorn defy.
Poor is the ſcepter'd prince, whoſe unbleſs'd mind,
Midſt fawning courtiers Friendſhip ne'er can find.
Alas! how ſhort the lover's joy endures,
Unleſs this glorious ſpark the flame ſecures!
What radiant worth its bright reſemblance wears!
Its charms the ſymbols pureſt Virtue bears;
Its flame at firſt ſprung from the realms above,
Where ſaints and angels without envy love.
It ſtill on earth emits a pleaſing ray,
And rules o'er ſouls refin'd with ſovereign ſway.
Emblem of heav'n! where ſeraphs ſoftly ſmile,
Where pureſt Friendſhip reigns, unknown to guile.
E'en glorious heroes, 'midſt War's fierce alarms,
Have felt its force, and own'd its conq'ring charms.
Behold the rage of Thetis' god-like ſon!
When for a ſlave from Grecian troops he run!
Along the ſea-beat ſhore he lay reclin'd,
Whilſt boiling ire vindictive ſwell'd his mind.
He views unmov'd his friends and country ſlain,
And treats the King of Men with fierce diſdain.
But when his friend was by great Hector ſlain,
And thrown ignobly on the Trojan plain,
How did the rage of Friendſhip tear his ſoul!
He weeps! he raves! his grief's beyond controul;
Nor thinks bold Hector and the Trojan hoſt
A proper victim to Patroclus' ghoſt.
See! Scotland's guardian, Wallace' mighty name,
Whoſe glorious deeds have gain'd him laſting fame;
Whoſe ſoul, by fate in every criſis try'd,
Improv'd each danger, and each ſhock defied,
By Friendſhip touch'd, for gallant Graham did mourn,
And pour'd a flood of ſorrow o'er his urn.
But ev'ry age a noble proof might ſhow,
Of gen'rous ſouls by Friendſhip taught to glow,
Whoſe boſoms fir'd by that exalted flame,
Did actions worthy of immortal fame.
To thee, my ————, I devote theſe lays,
Whoſe preſence quickly all my grief allays,

O may the ſacred ſpark that warms each breaſt,
Refin'dly glow, by mutual love expreſt.
May no diſtruſt e'er cloud its radiant light;
But ſtill by human trials ſhine more bright;
Till, freed from earth, at laſt we mount above,
Where all is Friendſhip, Harmony, and Love.

ODE to INSPIRATION.

THO' Jove and Phœbus are no more,
The Grecian minſtrelſy we prize;
Since Pindar's wond'rous lyric lore
Could lift the hero to the ſkies:
No hero I deſire to raiſe,
Yet woo bright Inſpiration to my lays.

Fair Maid! attir'd in veſture blue,
Doſt thou ſerene at morning ſmile?
Or deck'd with clouds of crimſon hue,
The weary reaper's path beguile,
Till Cynthia, riſing on the night,
Devolves o'er hill and plain her ſilver light?

Or in the ſun's reſplendent car
Seated ſublime, bold painter thou!
Doſt thou all Titian's colours mar,
Striking a triple-arched bow?
In ſparry caves, on roof and floor,
Illumination's magic doſt thou pour?

Yes, be it writ on ſtone!
Nature and thou, lov'd Maid, are one.
Whether amid the gardens of the globe,
Fair Italy or Aſia's gems,
The poet draws from thee gay-warbling ſtreams;
(Or wears ſometimes an April robe);

While from a hoary rock,
Verdant with thrifty moſs,
He views the raging billow's ſhock,
And weeps for the life laden veſſel's loſs.
'Tis ſo; for in theſe ſhades unknown,
I feel that I inſpir'd am grown.

Adieu! to courts and adulated kings.
By yonder ruſhy fringed ſtream,
That ſparkles with the weſtern beam,
I ſcorn ſuch artificial things:
But liſten to no venal notes,
While liquid muſic round me floats.

Sweet Philomel! that ſingeſt near,
Upon the thorny blooming ſpray;
What foe to love untouch'd could hear,
Thy plaintive modulated lay?

Philadelphia, Jan. 26. The Hon. the Continental Congreſs have ordered a magnificent Cenotaph to be erected to the memory of General MONTGOMERY [94], with the following inſcription.

MONTGOMERY falls! Let no fond breaſt repine
That HAMPDEN's glorious death, brave chief! was thine.
With *his*, ſhall Freedom conſecrate *thy* name,
Shall date her riſing glories from thy fame,
Shall build her throne of empire on thy grave:
—What nobler fate can Patriot Virtue crave!

On the CHAISE-PIN Contrivance.

CRown'd be the man with laſting praiſe,
Who firſt contriv'd the pin,
To looſe mad horſes from the chaiſe,
And ſave the necks within!

See how they prance, and bound, and ſkip,
And all controul diſdain!
They bid defiance to the whip,
And tear the ſilken rein!

A while we try if art or ſtrength
Are able to prevail:
But hopeleſs, when we find at length
That all our efforts fail,

With ready foot the ſpring we preſs;
Out jumps the magic plug;
Then, diſengag'd from all diſtreſs,
We ſit quite ſafe and ſnug.

The pamper'd ſteeds, their freedom gain'd,
Run off full ſpeed together;
But having no plan aſcertain'd,
They run they know not whither.

Boys who love miſchief (and of courſe
Enjoying the diſaſter)
Bawl, Stop 'em! Stop 'em! till they're hoarſe,
But mean to drive them faſter.

Each claiming now his nat'ral right,
Scorns to obey his brother;
So they proceed to kick and bite,
And worry one another.

Hungry at laſt, and blind, and lame,
(Bleeding at noſe and eyes),
By ſufferings grown mighty tame,
And by experience wiſe;

With bellies full of liberty,
But void of oats and hay,
They both ſneak back, their folly ſee,
And run no more away.

Let all who view th' inſtructive ſcene,
And patronize the plan,
Give thanks to Glo'ſter's worthy Dean,
For, TUCKER,——Thour't the Man.

To the LADIES.

YE females of the feather'd choir,
Whoſe nodding plumage fans deſire;
Tell me, ah! tell me, what you mean,
By pink, blue, crimſon, white, and green?
Wave they, like banners in the wind,
Juſt emblems of the wearer's mind?
Say, can the oſtrich' pearly white,
Confirm your innocence outright?
If blue your conſtancy maintain,
Pink fades, and blue will ſometimes ſtain.
Yellow, the lover's bane, and green,
Together join'd ſhou'd ne'er be ſeen.
Chaſte crimſon now has chang'd its place,
And the head bluſhes for the face.
This motley mode, then, baniſh hence,
Or wits will joke at your expence.

NEW

NEW BOOKS. [44.]

Plaidoyer ſur la validité d'un mariage Proteſtant. Par M. Trouſſel, Avocat au Conſeil Superieur. 8vo. Niſmes. — *Second Plaidoyer, ou Replique.* 8vo. Ibid. — *Diſcours de M. Mazer, Avocat du Roi, au Préſidial de Niſmes, dans la cauſe du Sieur et de la Dame Roux.* 8vo. Ibid.

MAdemoiſelle Roubel, daughter of a Proteſtant merchant, was married to another Proteſtant merchant, Mr Roux. The bans were, like thoſe of all other Proteſtants in France, publiſhed in a Proteſtant religious meeting in the deſert (*au Deſert*), and the marriage was celebrated by a Proteſtant miniſter. For eight years they lived happy together, reſpected by all their acquaintance; and were bleſſed with five children, four of whom are ſtill living.

At that period, in December 1773, Mad. Roux on a ſudden falls deſperately in love with a merchant's clerk; and, in order to get divorced from her huſband, elopes from her family; applies to a Catholic prieſt; pretends a zealous reſolution of turning Catholic; involves her huſband in a law-ſuit; declares herſelf to have lived all that time as his concubine; ſummons him to embrace the Catholic faith; to be legally married to her by a Catholic prieſt; and thus to convert into a concubinage their former cohabitation in the holy ſtate of matrimony! —

She knew her huſband to be firmly attached to his religion, and very probably truſted he would hardly turn Catholic for the ſake of recovering a faithleſs, vicious, ſtrayed wife. Beſides, his cauſe could not be pleaded before a Catholic court but by Catholic counſellors.

Yet, by Catholic counſellors it was pleaded, and effectually. — A more delicate and important law-ſuit had perhaps not happened for ages in France: — For its final determination was, either

By annulling this marriage, to declare ſome hundred thouſands of marriages, celebrated by Proteſtant miniſters in France, illegal and void; — to degrade above two millions of children, born under theſe circumſtances, to the ſtate of baſtardy; — to deſtroy the domeſtic peace and happineſs of three millions of Proteſtants; — and, perhaps, to riſk the internal tranquillity of the kingdom: — or,

By acknowledging Mr Roux's marriage as legal, to allow the Proteſtants in France, at once, the free exerciſe of their religion.

In pleading before a Catholic court the cauſe of Proteſtantiſm, of humanity, of innocence, Meſſ. Trouſſel and Mazer were, indeed, fully ſenſible of the importance, the conſpicuouſneſs, the dignity of their parts: accordingly they exerted their virtues, their talents, their genius, with ſuch ſoundneſs of judgement, integrity, and warmth of philanthropy, as muſt endear them both to the affections of Proteſtants, and the eſteem of ſenſible Catholics.

In his firſt ſpeech, Mr Trouſſel demands Madame Roux to be ſhut up in a convent until the determination of the law-ſuit.

In the ſecond, he, with great intrepidity, enters into the queſtion concerning the validity of marriages celebrated by Proteſtant miniſters. — From the laws of nature, from the Roman law, from a bull of Benedict XIV. from the canons of the council of Trent, he evinces theſe marriages to be true, lawful, and valid, to all intents and purpoſes. He even aſſerts them to be tacitly acknowledged as ſuch by the laws of France. "For," ſays he, "the royal laws which command every marriage to be celebrated in a Catholic church, regard only Catholics, or proſelytes to the Catholic faith; they do not regard Proteſtants: "Un Proteſtant eſt un homme, — et un homme malheureux eſt un être ſacré." His peroration is in the higheſt degree pathetic; he paints the dreadful conſequences of a ſentence in Mad. Roux's favour, with ſtrokes of eloquence worthy of Cicero or Demoſthenes; and with a ſpirit, ſtrength, and energy, that can hardly admit a doubt of the ſentence being ever given againſt the validity of Proteſtant marriages.

Nor has Mr Mazer acquired leſs honour by the ſpeech in which he ſums up the arguments on both ſides, and prepares the judges for pronouncing the ſentence; whoſe difficulties he evades by a very dexterous turn.

"The validity of this marriage itſelf," ſays he, "cannot as yet be decided: the children alſo are particularly intereſted in the ſentence; they too muſt firſt be heard; conſequently we muſt either wait till they are of age, or appoint them a guardian to plead their cauſe."

His ſpeech breathes an awful reſpect

to religion, a warm partiality to Proteſtants, an heroical devotion to truth: ſome paſſages in it are equal to any maſter-ſtrokes of eloquence in any age or country.

For their liberal ſentiments, and integrity of conduct, Meſſ. Trouſſel and Mazer were, by the clergy, ſlandered at court, and ſummoned to Paris to give an account; where they were very favourably received, and diſmiſſed with a gentle advice, never to plead in ſo important a cauſe without previouſly informing the court. "Souvénes vous," ſaid the keeper of the ſeals, "que vous etes ſujets du roi très-chretien et fils aîné de l'egliſe."

Mad. Roux was by a lettre de cachet ſent into a convent at Vienne, and the judges were ordered to proceed no further in that cauſe.

The rapidity of the deviations of a wife and mother from virtue and happineſs, — perhaps for the ſake of an inſignificant ſcribble of a clerk, — the enormous effects often reſulting from the moſt trifling cauſes, — the happy contraſt of the actual liberality of ſentiments in France, with the furious and fatal bigotry of former times, — the pleaſing proſpect into an approaching futurity, where the Proteſtants will again enjoy liberty of conſcience in France, — are themes which we leave to the reflection of our readers. C.

Obſervations on the nature of civil liberty, the principles of government, and the juſtice and policy of the war with America. To which is added, an Appendix, containing a ſtate of the national debt, an eſtimate of the money drawn from the public by the taxes, and an account of the national income and expenditure ſince the laſt war. By Richard Price, D. D. 2 s. Cadell.

THE author begins this tract with obſerving, That our colonies in North America appear to be now determined to do and ſuffer every thing, under the perſuaſion, that G. Britain is attempting to rob them of that liberty, to which every member of ſociety, and all civil communities, have a natural and unalienable right. The queſtion, therefore, Whether this is a reaſonable perſuaſion? is highly intereſting, and deſerves the moſt careful attention of every Engliſhman who values liberty, and wiſhes to avoid ſtaining himſelf with the guilt of invading it. But it is impoſſible (adds the Doctor) to judge properly of this queſtion without correct ideas of liberty in general; and of the nature, limits, and principles of civil liberty in particular. — The following are ſome of this learned author's obſervations.

"*Of the nature of Liberty in general.*

In order to obtain a more diſtinct and accurate view of the nature of liberty as ſuch, it will be uſeful to conſider it under the four following diviſions: 1. Phyſical Liberty; 2. Moral Liberty; 3. Religious Liberty; and, 4. Civil Liberty. — Theſe heads comprehend under them all the different kinds of liberty.

By Phyſical Liberty I mean that principle of ſpontaneity, or ſelf-determination, which conſtitutes us agents; or which gives us a command over our actions, rendering them properly ours, and not effects of the operation of any foreign cauſe. — Moral Liberty is the power of following, in all circumſtances, our ſenſe of right and wrong; or in acting in conformity to our reflecting and moral principles, without being controuled by any contrary principles. — Religious Liberty ſignifies the power of exerciſing, without moleſtation, that mode of religion which we think beſt; or of making the deciſions of our own conſciences, reſpecting religious truth, the rule of our conduct, and not any of the deciſions of others. — In like manner, Civil Liberty is the power of a civil ſociety or ſtate to govern itſelf by its own diſcretion, or by laws of its own making, without being ſubject to any foreign diſcretion, or to the impoſitions of any extraneous will or power.

According to theſe definitions of the different kinds of liberty, there is one general idea that runs through them all; I mean the idea of ſelf-direction, or ſelf-government. —— Did our volitions originate, not with ourſelves, but with ſome cauſe over which we have no power, or were we under a neceſſity of always following ſome will different from our own, we ſhould want phyſical liberty. — He whoſe perceptions of moral obligation are controuled by his paſſions, has loſt his moral liberty; and the moſt common language applied to him is, that he wants ſelf-government. — He who, in religion, cannot govern himſelf by his convictions of religious duty, but is obliged to receive formularies of faith, and to practiſe modes of worſhip, impoſed upon

upon him by others, wants religious liberty. — The community alſo that is governed, not by itſelf, but by ſome will independent of it, and over which it has no controul, wants civil liberty.

In all theſe caſes there is a force which ſtands oppoſed to the agent's own will; and which, as far as it operates, produces ſervitude. — In the firſt caſe, this force is incompatible with the very idea of voluntary motion; and the ſubject of it is a mere paſſive inſtrument, which never acts, but is always acted upon. — In the ſecond caſe, this force is the influence of paſſion getting the better of reaſon, or the brute overpowering and conquering the will of the man. — In the third caſe, it is human authority in religion requiring conformity to particular modes of faith and worſhip, and ſuperſeding private judgement. — And, in the laſt caſe, it is any will diſtinct from that of the majority of a community, which claims a power of making laws for it, and diſpoſing of its property.

This it is, I think, that marks the limit, or that lays the line between liberty and ſlavery. As far as, in any inſtance, the operation of any cauſe comes in to reſtrain the power of ſelf-government, ſo far ſlavery is introduced. Nor do I think that a preciſer idea than this, of liberty and ſlavery, can be formed.

I cannot help wiſhing I could here fix my reader's attention, and engage him to conſider carefully the dignity of that bleſſing to which we give the name of liberty, according to the repreſentation now made of it. There is not a word in the whole compaſs of language which expreſſes ſo much of what is important and excellent. It is, in every view of it, a bleſſing truly ſacred and invaluable. — Without phyſical liberty, man would be a machine acted upon by mechanical ſprings, having no principle of motion in himſelf, or command over events; and, therefore, incapable of all merit and demerit. — Without moral liberty he is a wicked and deteſtable being, ſubject to the tyranny of baſe luſts, and the ſport of every vile appetite. — And without religious and civil liberty, he is a poor and abject animal, without rights, without property, and without a conſcience, bending his neck to the yoke, and crouching to the will of every ſilly creature who has the inſolence to pretend to authority over him. — Nothing, therefore, can be of ſo much conſequence to us as liberty. It is the foundation of all honour, and the chief privilege and glory of our natures.

In fixing our ideas on the ſubject of liberty, it is of particular uſe to take ſuch an enlarged view of it as I have now given. But the immediate object of the preſent inquiry being civil liberty, I will confine to it all the ſubſequent obſervations.

Of Civil Liberty and the Principles of Government.

From what has been ſaid, it is obvious, that all civil government, as far as it can be denominated free, is the creature of the people. It originates with them; it is conducted under their direction; and has in view nothing but their happineſs. All its different forms are no more than ſo many different modes in which they chuſe to direct their affairs, and to ſecure the quiet enjoyment of their rights. In every free ſtate every man is his own legiſlator; all taxes are free gifts for public ſervices; all laws are particular proviſions or regulations eſtabliſhed by common conſent for gaining protection and ſafety; and all magiſtrates are truſtees or deputies for carrying theſe regulations into execution.

Liberty, therefore, is too imperfectly defined, when it is ſaid to be "a government by laws, and not by men." If the laws are made by one man, or a junto of men, in a ſtate, and not by common conſent, a government by them does not differ from ſlavery. In this caſe it would be a contradiction in terms to ſay that the ſtate governs itſelf.

From hence it is obvious, that civil liberty, in its moſt perfect degree, can be enjoyed only in ſmall ſtates, where every member is capable of giving his ſuffrage in perſon, and of being choſen into public offices. When a ſtate becomes ſo numerous, or when the different parts of it are removed to ſuch diſtances from one another, as to render this impracticable, a diminution of liberty neceſſarily ariſes. There are, however, in theſe circumſtances, methods by which ſuch near approaches may be made to perfect liberty, as ſhall anſwer all the purpoſes of government, and at the ſame time ſecure every right of human nature.

Though all the members of a ſtate ſhould not be capable of giving their ſuffrages

frages on public meaſures individually and perſonally, they may do this by the appointment of ſubſtitutes or repreſentatives. They may entruſt the powers of legiſlation, ſubject to ſuch reſtrictions as they ſhall think neceſſary, with any number of delegates; and whatever can be done by ſuch delegates, within the limits of their truſt, may be conſidered as done by the united voice and counſel of the community. — In this method a free government may be eſtabliſhed in the largeſt ſtate; and it is conceivable, that by regulations of this kind, any number of ſtates might be ſubjected to a ſcheme of government, that would exclude the deſolations of war, and produce univerſal peace and order.

Let us think here of what may be practicable in this way with reſpect to Europe in particular. — While it continues divided, as it is at preſent, into a a great number of independent kingdoms whoſe intereſts are continually claſhing, it is impoſſible but that diſputes will often ariſe, which muſt end in war and carnage. It would be no remedy to this evil to make one of theſe ſtates ſupreme over the reſt; and to give it an abſolute plenitude of power to ſuperintend and controul them. This would be to ſubject all the ſtates to the arbitrary diſcretion of one, and to eſtabliſh an ignominious ſlavery not poſſible to be long endured. It would, therefore, be a remedy worſe than the diſeaſe; nor is it poſſible it ſhould be approved by any mind that has not loſt every idea of civil liberty. — On the contrary. Let every ſtate, with reſpect to all its internal concerns, be continued independent of all the reſt; and let a general confederacy be formed by the appointment of a ſenate, conſiſting of repreſentatives from all the different ſtates. Let this ſenate poſſeſs the power of managing all the common concerns of the united ſtates, and of judging and deciding between them, as a common arbiter or umpire, in all diſputes; having, at the ſame time, under its direction, the common force of the ſtates to ſupport its deciſions. — In theſe circumſtances, each ſeparate ſtate would be ſecure againſt the interference of foreign power in its private concerns, and therefore would poſſeſs liberty; and, at the ſame time, it would be ſecure againſt all oppreſſion and inſult from every neighbouring ſtate. — Thus might the ſcattered force and abilities of a whole continent be gathered into one point; all litigations ſettled as they roſe; univerſal peace preſerved; and nation prevented from any more lifting up a ſword againſt nation.

On the policy of the war with America.

The object of this war has been often enough declared to be "maintaining the ſupremacy of this country over the colonies." — This ſupremacy is to be maintained, either merely for its own ſake, or for the ſake of ſome public intereſt connected with it, and dependent upon it. — If for its own ſake, the only object of the war, is the extenſion of dominion; and its only motive is the luſt of power. — All government, even within a ſtate, becomes tyrannical, as far as it is a needleſs and wanton exerciſe of power, or is carried farther than is abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve the peace and to ſecure the ſafety of the ſtate. This is what an excellent writer calls "governing too much;" and its effect muſt always be weakening government, by rendering it contemptible and odious. — Nothing can be of more importance, in governing diſtant provinces, and adjuſting the claſhing intereſts of different ſocieties, than attention to this remark. In theſe circumſtances it is particularly neceſſary to make a ſparing uſe of power, in order to preſerve power. — Happy would it have been for G. Britain, had this been remembered by thoſe who have lately conducted its affairs. But our policy has been of another kind. At the period when our authority ſhould have been moſt concealed, it has been brought moſt in view; and, by a progreſſion of violent meaſures, every one of which has increaſed diſtreſs, we have given the world reaſon to conclude, that we are acquainted with no other method of governing than by force. — What a ſhocking miſtake! — If our object is power, we ſhould have known better how to uſe it; and our rulers ſhould have conſidered, that freemen will always revolt at the ſight of a naked ſword; and that the complicated affairs of a great kingdom, holding in ſubordination to it a multitude of diſtant communities, all jealous of their rights, and warmed with ſpirits as high as our own, require not only the moſt ſkilful, but the moſt cautious and tender management. The conſequences of a different management we are now feeling. We ſee ourſelves driven

driven among rocks, and in danger of being loſt.

There are the following reaſons which ſeem to make it too probable, that the preſent conteſt with America is a conteſt for power only *, abſtracted from all the advantages connected with it.

1. There is a love of power for its own ſake inherent in human nature; and it cannot be uncharitable to ſuppoſe, that the nation in general, and the cabinet in particular, are too likely to be influenced by it. What can be more flattering than to look acroſs the Atlantic, and to ſee, in the boundleſs continent of America, increaſing millions whom we have a right to order as we pleaſe, who hold their property at our diſpoſal, and who have no other law than our will? With what complacency have we been uſed to talk of them as our ſubjects [xxxvii. 615.]? — Is it not the interruption they now give to this pleaſure, is it not the oppoſition they make to our pride, and not an injury they have done us, that is the ſecret ſpring of our preſent animoſity againſt them? — I wiſh all in this kingdom would examine themſelves carefully on this point. Perhaps they might find, that they have not known what ſpirit they are of. — Perhaps, they would become ſenſible, that it was a ſpirit of domination, more than a regard to the true intereſt of this country, that lately led ſo many of them, with ſuch ſavage folly, to addreſs the throne for the ſlaughter of their brethren in America, if they will not ſubmit to them; and to make offers of their lives and fortunes for that purpoſe. Indeed I am perſuaded, that, were pride, and the luſt of dominion, exterminated from every heart among us, and the humility of Chriſtians infuſed in their room, this quarrel would be ſoon ended.

2. Another reaſon for believing that this is a conteſt for power only, is, that our miniſters have frequently declared, that their object is not to draw a revenue from America; and that many of thoſe who are warmeſt for continuing it, repreſent the American trade as of no great conſequence.

But what deſerves particular conſideration here is, that this is a conteſt from which no advantages can poſſibly be derived. — Not a revenue: For the provinces of America, when deſolated, will afford no revenue; or if they ſhould, the expence of ſubduing them, and keeping them in ſubjection, will much exceed that revenue. — Not any of the advantages of trade: For it is a folly, next to infanity, to think trade can be promoted by impoveriſhing our cuſtomers, and fixing in their minds an everlaſting abhorrence of us. — It remains, therefore, that this war can have no other object than the extenſion of power. — Miſerable reflection! — To ſheath our ſwords in the bowels of our brethren, and ſpread miſery and ruin among a happy people, for no other end than to oblige them to acknowledge our ſupremacy. How horrid! — This is the curſed ambition that led a Cæſar and an Alexander, and many other mad conquerors, to attack peaceful communities, and to lay waſte the earth.

But a worſe principle than even this, influences ſome among us. Pride and the love of dominion are principles hateful enough; but blind reſentment, and the deſire of revenge, are infernal principles: and theſe, I am afraid, have no ſmall ſhare at preſent in guiding our public conduct. — One cannot help indeed being aſtoniſhed at the virulence with which ſome ſpeak on the preſent occaſion againſt the colonies. — For, What have they done? — Have they croſſed the ocean and invaded us? Have they attempted to take from us the fruits of our labour, and to overturn that form of government which we hold ſo ſacred? — This cannot be pretended. — On the contrary, this is what we have done to them. — We have tranſported ourſelves to their peaceful retreats, and employed our fleets and armies to ſtop up their ports, to deſtroy their commerce, to ſeize their effects, and to burn their towns. Would we but let them alone, and ſuffer them to enjoy in ſecurity their property and governments, inſtead of diſturbing us, they would thank and bleſs us. And yet it is we who imagine ourſelves ill-uſed. — The truth is, we expected to find them a cowardly rabble who would lie quietly at our feet; and they have diſappointed us. They have riſen in their own defence, and repelled force by force. They deny the plenitude of

* I have heard it ſaid by a perſon in one of the firſt departments of the ſtate, that the preſent conteſt is for dominion on the ſide of the colonies, as well as on ours. And ſo it is, indeed; but with this eſſential difference: We are ſtruggling for dominion over others; they are ſtruggling for ſelf-dominion, the nobleſt of all bleſſings.

of our power over them; and inſiſt upon being treated as free communities.—It is this that has provoked us, and kindled our governors into rage."

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A familiar and practical improvement of the church-catechiſm, deſigned to render the work of catechiſing more eaſy and profitable, &c. By the Rev. T. Haweis, LL. D. 2s. *Dilly.*—Methodiſtical. M.

The character and conduct of the female ſex, and the advantages to be derived by young men from the ſociety of virtuous women. A diſcourſe [from John xi. 5] in three parts, delivered in Monkwell-ſtreet Chapel, Jan. 1 1776. By James Fordyce, D. D. 1s. 6d. *Cadell.*—Every friend to virtue, and to the beſt intereſts of mankind, muſt highly applaud this diſcourſe. Even thoſe who read for their amuſement only, without any view to their moral improvement, muſt, if they have any pretenſions to taſte, be pleaſed with the ſprightlineſs, ſpirit, and elegance that appear in almoſt every page of it.—Attend, O attend to it, ye generous ſons of Britain! *aſſurna verſate manu, verſate diurna!* It will teach you very different leſſons from thoſe which a late celebrated letter writer (xxxvi. 367.) has taught you. It will teach you to form a higher opinion of female underſtanding: it will ſhew you, that there are many women highly reſpectable for their mental powers and acquiſitions; eminently diſtinguiſhed, not only by brilliancy of fancy, but by ſolidity of judgement, and acuteneſs of penetration; that they frequently excel in natural taſte, ſprightly imagination, quick diſcernment of characters, and wonderful addreſs in ſuiting themſelves to each; and that they are often adorned with a very conſiderable portion of knowledge and literature, when favoured by their genius and ſituation. Attend to it, and it will teach you, that openneſs and probity will reflect the greateſt credit, not only on the heart, but on the underſtanding too, and are infinitely ſuperior to all the little, ſneaking, paltry, pitiful arts of cunning and hypocriſy; it will teach you, that the company of virtuous and well-bred women is the beſt ſchool for learning "the moſt proper demeanor, the genteeleſt, the eaſieſt turn of thought and expreſſion, and right habits of the beſt kind;" that the moſt honourable, the moſt moral, the moſt conſcientious men, are, in general, thoſe who have the greateſt regard for women of reputation and talents. M.

Reflections critical and moral on the Letters of the late Earl of Cheſterfield. By Thomas Hunter, M. A. 4s. ſewed. *Cadell.*—In the firſt part of this work the author examines what he calls the bright ſide of Lord Cheſterfield's character, as a writer, and a man. "To do juſtice to Lord Cheſterfield's compoſition," ſays he, "would require a pen like his own: or let his Lordſhip's favourites, Venus and the Graces, join in concert to ſing his eulogium!"—After Mr Hunter has entertained his readers with a minute, elaborate, and copious diſplay of Lord Cheſterfield's character, ſo far as it is confeſſedly intitled to admiration and praiſe, the agreeable ſubject is reverſed, and we are henceforth preſented with an almoſt uninterrupted ſeries of cenſure and diſapprobation.—"His four volumes," ſays our author, "may be intitled, An entire Code of Hypocriſy and Diſſimulation; containing the fineſſe, the artifice, the craft, the virtue, or the ſemblance of virtue, with all the external accompliſhments neceſſary to form the character of the complete courtier. The Chriſtian, or, in other words, the ſincere moraliſt, will look upon the Noble Lord, with all his wit, his genius, his elegance and penetration, as a little, a trivolous, and ſuperficial man; engroſſed by ſelfiſhneſs, vanity, and ambition; and in order to gratify theſe paſſions, a devout conformiſt to the world, its faſhions and follies: regardleſs of the intereſts or miſeries of mortality, but ſo far as he may reap advantage from them, and profit by the follies or frailties of mankind." C. [xxxvi 366.]

A plea for the divinity of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. In a paſtoral letter addreſſed to a congregation of Proteſtant diſſenters at Cambridge. 1s. 6d. *Crowder.*—There are ſeveral arguments in this tract which the author has ſtated and maintained in an able manner. C.

An eſſay on liberty and neceſſity, in anſwer

ſwer to Auguſtus Toplady's tract, on (what he calls) "Chriſtian and philoſophical neceſſity aſſerted" [xxxvii. 618.] 1 s. *Hawes.* —— Written with temper, perſpicuity, and force of reaſoning; and may be read with pleaſure and ſatisfaction by any one who wiſhes to make himſelf maſter of the ſubject. C.

Hiſtory, Law, &c.

The hiſtory and antiquities of Wincheſter. 2 vols. 6 s. boards. *Crowder.*

Memoirs of that celebrated comedian, and very ſingular genius, Thomas Weſton. 1 s. 6 d. *Bladon*

Obſervations on the caſe of Miſs Butterfield [xxxvii. 457.], calculated to ſhew the hardſhips ſhe has unjuſtly ſuſtained, and the neceſſity of proſecuting her right in a court of juſtice. 1 s. *Williams.* —— Pleads, that Mr Scawen's will made in her prejudice, ought to be ſet aſide. M.

The Kingſton cauſe impartially ſtated, and fully conſidered, &c. 2 s. *Wheble.* —— Contains, 1. A recapitulation of the facts on which the proſecution is founded; 2. A ſummary of the arguments *pro* and *con*; 3. The ſentence of the eccleſiaſtical court, in the lady's favour, in 1769; 4. The bill of indictment ſince found by the Middleſex grand jury; 5. The ſpeeches of the Lords, relative to the place and manner of trial. Theſe proceedings are illuſtrated by Sir W. Blackſtone's commentary on the ſuit of *Matrimonii Jactitationis*, the unlawfulneſs of bigamy, and the puniſhment of the offence. M.

Mrs M. C. Rudd's caſe conſidered, reſpecting Robert Perreau; in an addreſs to Henry Drummond, Eſq; and the gentlemen of the jury who tried Robert Perreau: with a comparative view of his trial and his laſt ſolemn declaration. 1 s. *Wilkie.* —— Deſigned to remove the doubts of thoſe who have been induced, by their tenderneſs, and too good an opinion of human nature, to credit the dying declaration, in which Robert Perreau proteſted his innocence [51, 2.]. That declaration is here, indeed, plainly ſhewn to have been *evaſive* and *unſatisfactory*, and to have been entirely overthrown by the moſt irrefragable evidence againſt him. But as to the author's attempt to aſſert the innocence of *the woman*, it is not leſs evaſive and unſatisfactory than the declaration of Robert Perreau. M.

Thoughts on the ſeveral regulations neceſſary to the appointment of an advocate-general, for the purpoſe of relieving the clients of lawyers from unreaſonable expence, and intolerable oppreſſion. 2 s. *Bew.* —— Divided into two parts; relating, 1. to the remedy of thoſe miſchiefs which ariſe from the neglect, miſmanagement, and evil deſigns of the practitioners; and, 2. to the taxation of their bills. C.

America.

Journal of the proceedings of the Congreſs, held at Philadelphia, May 10. 1775. Publiſhed by order of the Congreſs. 3 s. *Almon.* —— The Philadelphia edition of this Journal concludes with the following atteſtation: "The above is a copy of the Journal of the Proceedings of the Congreſs, from their meeting on the 10th of May to this time (Aug. 1.), *except that ſome reſolutions relative to military operations carrying on, are omitted.* JOHN HANCOCK, Preſident. But in Almon's edition, that part of this atteſtation which is printed in Italics, has been totally, and, we think, very unjuſtifiably omitted. M. — Of the Journal itſelf a great part has appeared already in our Magazine.

An addreſs to the people, on the ſubject of the conteſt between G. Britain and America. By [illegible] 3 d. *Wilkie.* —— A zealous invective againſt the Americans. M.

The hiſtory of an old fringed petticoat; a fragment: tranſlated from the original M. S. Greek of Democritus. With an epiſtle and dedication to Lord North. 6 d. *Blythe &c.* —— A political allegory, in the ſtyle of *John Bull*; or rather, perhaps, of Sterne's *Watch-coat*. The author ingeniouſly unfolds the preſent diſpute between Britain and her Colonies in the *ſimilitude*, (as Bunyan would ſay), not of a *dream*, but of a *tale* — how an old woman and her daughters quarrelled about mending a tattered fringed petticoat:—it *tells* againſt the Americans. M.

Some obſervations on a pamphlet, intitled, *The rights of Great Britain aſſerted*, &c. [26. 65.] 1 s. *Donaldſon.* —— Strongly tinctured with prejudice in favour of the Americans. C.

De tumultibus Americanis, deque eorum concitatoribus, meditatio ſenilis. 9 d. *White.* —— Intended as an anſwer to ſome invidious remarks made in a certain auguſt aſſembly, relative to the conduct of the univerſity of Oxford, in preſenting to his Majeſty an addreſs on the American rebellion. — In the character of an *old man*, converſant with the motives of human action, the author expoſes, in a lively and ſatirical ſtrain, the ſelf-intereſted principles of thoſe men who have abetted the revolt of the coloniſts; confirming his remarks by examples taken from ancient hiſtorians, of pretended patriots of former times; and ſubjoining many pertinent obſervations on the procedure of the Americans themſelves. The whole Meditation is written in claſſical Latin, and abounds with juſt reflections on factious oppoſition to government, interſperſed with the marks of a man of learning, and the agreeable garrulity of a ſenſible old obſervator. C.

[The reſt of the Books deferred.]

HISTORICAL AFFAIRS.

[*All the Foreign, and ſome Domeſtic, deferred.*]

ENGLAND.

A notice was given in the gazette of Feb. 24. dated, *War-office, Feb.* 22. by which the King offers his free pardon to all deſerters from his land-forces who ſhall ſurrender before the 10th of April, to the regiment to which they belong, to ſome other corps in his Majeſty's ſervice, or to any additional company or recruiting party in G. Britain or Ireland.

In the ſame gazette there is an order of council, dated Feb. 21. by which the prohibition to export, or carry coaſtwiſe, gunpowder, ſaltpetre, or any ſort of arms or ammunition [xxxvii. 682. 3.], is continued for three months from Feb. 23.

And by another order of council, dated Feb. 28. the time limited for giving bounties to volunteer-ſeamen is prorogued from Feb. 29. to April 30.

About the end of February the ſhattered remains of the 18th regiment of foot, which was engaged in the action at Bunker's-hill, and reduced to only twenty-five men, arrived at Maidſtone. They conſiſted of two officers, three ſerjeants, two drummers, and the band of muſic. A ſubſcription was immediately opened for their relief.

"*London, Feb.* 5. An augmentation of one cornet and fifteen private men is ordered to each troop of Elliot's and Burgoyne's light dragoons. The officers are appointed; and recruiting parties gone out to raiſe the men."

"*London, Feb.* 3. The guards are every day practiſing the uſe of the rifle-gun in Hyde-park. The barrels of theſe new-fangled inſtruments of death are on ſo particular a conſtruction, that a piſtol carries 300 yards; and ſome of the men are already ſo dextrous, that they can hit the centre of a ſmall target at that diſtance."

Orders were ſent from the war office, Feb. 29. to the commanding officers of the regiments of dragoons in G. Britain to draught five men from every troop to imbark for America.

In the beginning of February, Mr Rivington arrived at London from New York. [23.]

Vice Adm. Graves arrived at Portſmouth, Feb. 21. in the Preſton man of war, from Boſton; and in a few days after made his report at the admiralty, which Lord Sandwich laid before the King.

Ld Viſc. Pitt, ſon of the Earl of Chatham, is ſaid to have reſigned his commiſſion as an enſign in the 47th regiment, now at Boſton.

Two Indian chiefs from Canada are come to London, to offer the King their aſſiſtance, and to aſſure his Majeſty of their fidelity.

Many authentic accounts having been received of the diſtreſſes of the clergy of the church of England in North America, a ſubſcription was opened for their relief by direction of the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of England in the beginning of February. By the 26th of that month the ſum ſubſcribed was 1670l. 15s.: of which the Archbiſhops of Canterbury and York ſubſcribed 30l. each; the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Durham, and Norwich, 25l. each; the Biſhop of Cheſter, 21l.; the Biſhops of Worceſter, Briſtol, Saliſbury, Peterborough, Lincoln, Bangor, Ely, Llandaff, St Aſaph, Exeter, Bath and Wells, and Chicheſter, 20l. each; the Biſhop of St David's, 15l. 15s.; the Biſhops of Oxford, Rocheſter, and Dromore, 10l. 10s. each; the Biſhop of Litchfield and Coventry, 10l.; the Dean and Canons of Windſor, 52l. 10s.; the Dean and Chapter of Weſtminſter, 50l.; the Dean and Chapter of Worceſter, 50l.; the Dean and Chapter of Wincheſter, 21l.; the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, 21l.; the Clergy of Briſtol, 35l.; Maudlin college, 26l. 5s.; the Earl of Dartmouth, 30l.; the Earl of Hillſborough, 26l. 5s.; the Dukes of Grafton and Marlborough, the Earl Gower, and Lord North, 25l. each; and many other noblemen, gentlemen, clergy, and ladies, ſums of 20l. 10l. and ſome, one, two, three, or five guineas, or pounds. — A liſt of the ſubſcribers, and of the ſums ſubſcribed, is publiſhed in the news-papers.

On Monday, Feb. 12. a committee of the Weſt-India planters and merchants waited on Lord North, and Lord George Germaine, with the following memorial.

"Your memorialiſts, in conſequence of your Lordſhips inclination, publicly declared, to aſſiſt and to relieve the ſugar-colonies, held a general meeting on the 22d of December laſt, and another on the 7th inſtant; the reſult whereof has been, to lay the following propoſitions before your Lordſhips.

That it is the opinion of your memorialiſts, That during the continuation of this calamitous war, and the interdiction of commerce with the aſſociated provin-

ces

ces in North America, no adequate conſumption can be found, but in G. Britain and Ireland, for thoſe parts of the produce of the ſugar-colonies which uſed to be given in exchange for lumber and proviſions, and conſumed in North America.

That ſtopping the diſtillation of grain in G. Britain and Ireland (in like manner as it was ſtopped in G. Britain by the acts of parliament paſſed in the 30th, 32d, and 33d years of the reign of K. George II.) would materially promote ſuch conſumption, and thereby enable them to purchaſe ſome proviſions and lumber where-ever they may be found.

That reducing the duty of exciſe payable upon the importation of rum into G. Britain and Ireland, and upon ſpirits drawn from molaſſes in G. Britain and Ireland, ſo far as to accommodate its price to the various uſes of manufactures and conſumption, to which ſpiritous liquors are commonly applied, would materially promote ſuch conſumption.

Your memorialiſts having thus ſubmitted to your Lordſhips their ſentiments of what may afford ſome immediate, though inadequate relief, to their impending diſtreſs, are nevertheleſs of opinion, that peace only, and only ſuch a peace as will reſtore the ancient intercourſe between the Weſt-India Iſlands and the Northern Continent of America, to the general harmony and laſting benefit of the whole Britiſh empire, can effectually prevent the evils with which they are more than threatened.

That your memorialiſts having informed your Lordſhips of their wants, and their propoſitions for relief, are anxious to be forthwith enabled to give ſuch directions to their agents abroad, for the future management of their property and concerns, as may correſpond with the countenance and encouragement they hope to receive from adminiſtration."

Only two addreſſes in approbation of coercive meaſures againſt the Americans, are this month to be added to our liſt [53.]. — In the gazette of Feb. 17. there is one from the juſtices of the peace, freeholders, commiſſioners of ſupply, and land-owners, of the county of Wigton, ſigned, *John Agnew, Preſes*; — and in the gazette of Feb. 20. one from the gentry, clergy, principal inhabitants, manufacturers, and freemen of the borough of Sudbury, ſigned by 140.

In oppoſition to the addreſſes a petition from the gentlemen, &c. of the county of Southampton was preſented to the King, Feb. 7. by the Duke of Bolton, attended by the Viſc. Middleton and the Rt Hon. Thomas Townſend, members for Whitechurch; Jervoiſe Clarke, Eſq; member for Yarmouth; and Edw. Morant, Eſq; member for Lymington; and was moſt graciouſly received. — The names ſigned to it amounted to 1900. The Dukes of Bolton and Portland, Lord Middleton, Rt Hon. T. Townſend, Sir Thomas Miller, Sir Philip Jenings Clerke, Hon. Capt. Luttrell, Sir John Carter, Jervoiſe Clarke, Eſq; Edward Morant, Eſq; the Hon. and Rev. Mr Wallop, Rev. Dr Duncombe, the Rev. Meſſ. Bathurſt, Powlett, Griffin, Kerby, Newbolt, &c. were among the number.

For the petition, 1900
For the addreſs, 201 [xxxvii. 633.]

William Henry Earl of Rochford was ſerved with a ſummons, dated Feb. 3. "to appear before the King's Juſtices at Weſtminſter, in eight days of the Purification of the Bleſſed Mary, to anſwer Stephen Sayre [xxxvii. 683.], of a plea of treſpaſs, aſſault, and impriſonment."

On Sunday, Jan. 7. the greateſt fall of ſnow that has been known in England in the memory of man began. It was attended with a high eaſterly wind, which drifted it in many places to an incredible depth. The wind continued eaſterly till Feb. 2. It then changed to the ſouth, and a gentle thaw came on, which was ſucceeded by mild weather. The accounts from different parts of the kingdom were never more melancholy than during the above period. Flocks of ſheep buried in the ſnow; carriages of all kinds overturned or detained upon the road; the mails retarded; poſt boys and travellers frozen to death in purſuing their uſual occupations; the intercourſe between town and town interrupted; local diſtreſs, and the more general calamities of the poor, form ſuch a long catalogue of human miſery, as cannot be read without pity.

SCOTLAND. [xxxvii. 694. 733.]

By an advertiſement dated Jan. 13. the city of Edinburgh offered a reward of one guinea over and above his Majeſty's bounty [94.] to every able ſeaman reſiding in or belonging to the city, Leith, Newhaven, or other the liberties of the city, who ſhould, on or before the 29th of February, voluntarily enter himſelf in the council-chamber to ſerve in the royal navy. Several boroughs, &c. follow-

ed this example. Muffelburgh offered a guinea and a half.

About the middle of January a government-agent contracted with ſome merchants of Glaſgow and Greenock for upwards of 7000 tons of ſhipping, to carry troops to America, and for bedding, water-caſks, butcher-meat, &c.

The borough of Linlithgow has ſent 20 l. the trinity-houſe of Leith 20 guineas, and the contributors to the dancing-aſſembly at Leith, alſo 20 guineas, to Sir William Forbes J. Hunter and Comp. [xxxvii. 631.] for the relief of the ſoldiers in America, and for ſuccouring the widows and orphans of thoſe brave men who have fallen, or may fall, in defence of the conſtitutional government of this country.

A ſtorm of ſnow came on at Edinburgh, and the country around, on Saturday Jan. 6. ſucceeded by an intenſe froſt, and continued till the beginning of February. The depth of ſnow, and the thickneſs of ice, were greater than have of a long time been known. Travelling was dangerous and tedious, and ſome poor people periſhed in the ſnow. The poſt from London was ſeveral times one day, once near two days, later than uſual of arriving at Edinburgh. In the weſt highlands the ſtorm was uncommonly ſevere: in free open air the thermometer ſunk ten degrees from the freezing-point; water froze in two minutes; and in lakes the ice was eighteen inches thick, and waterfowl were found frozen to death upon them.—A gentle thaw came on in the evening of Feb. 1. and the weather became afterwards mild.

The Duke of Buccleugh has ſent to the royal infirmary, and to the Edinburgh charity-workhouſe, 100 l. to each; and to the poor of the parihes of Dalkeith and Inverek 20 guineas each parih; Sir John Warrander of Lochend ſent 10 l. to be diſtributed among poor people who receive nothing from the church; different ladies and gentlemen ſent the priſoners in Edinburgh gaol ſupplies of coals; and there are many other examples of charity well worthy of imitation.

Mr Charles Stuart, miniſter of Cramond, preached a farewell ſermon to his congregation on Sunday Feb. 25. from John v. 39.; and on Wedneſday, the 28th, he gave in a letter to the preſbytery of Edinburgh, addreſſed to the moderator; which, at his deſire, was read. It contained a demiſſion of his charge as miniſter of Cramond; and was conceived in the moſt reſpectful terms to the church of Scotland in general, and the preſbytery of Edinburgh in particular. It ſet forth, That, at the time of entering into the miniſtry, being fully ſatisfied with the doctrines inculcated in the Confeſſion of Faith, he had no manner of ſcruple in accepting a paſtoral charge in the church of Scotland; that now, however, after having, with the greateſt deliberation, ſearched the ſcriptures, he could find no authority in the New Teſtament for any national church whatever; that government by kirk-ſeſſions, preſbyteries, &c. did not ſeem to him to be that which Jeſus Chriſt had appointed in his churches; and therefore, though he ſtill preferred the church of Scotland to any other, as being the moſt pure and orthodox in its doctrines, he could not, in theſe circumſtances, continue any longer a member of it.—After the letter was read, Principal Robertſon made a very elegant ſpeech, in which he paſſed many encomiums upon Mr Stuart; and regretted much that the preſbytery ſhould loſe ſo valuable a member, from ſcruples which he ſtill hoped might be removed, were ſome of his brethren, of more years and experience, to converſe with him on the ſubject. He therefore moved, that Mr Stuart's letter ſhould lie upon the table, till next meeting of the preſbytery; and that, in the mean time, a committee of their number ſhould be appointed for the above purpoſe. The Rev. Principal was followed by ſome other members, and the motion was unanimouſly agreed to. A committee of four (Princ. Robertſon, Prof. Hamilton, Dr Macqueen, and Mr Walker) was accordingly appointed; and it was likewiſe recommended to every member of the preſbytery, to make uſe of their beſt endeavours, as opportunity might offer, to remove Mr Stuart's difficulties.—Mr Stuart very politely thanked the preſbytery for their favourable conſtruction of his conduct, acquainted them of his readineſs to converſe with any of them on the ſubject of his doubts, and expreſſed his ſatisfaction with the committee they had appointed for that purpoſe. [xxx. 644.]

The cauſe, Meiſ. Scotland of Dunfermline, againſt the Rev. Mr Thomſon, is ſtill in court, a petition for Mr Thomſon having been given in Jan. 24. reclaiming againſt the interlocutor of Dec. 19. [xxxvii. 694.]

MAR-

MARRIAGES.

Feb. Captain Waller, of Deptford, aged 81 years, to Mrs Ford, of Peckham, aged 79.

Mr Campbell, clerk of the cheque at Chatham, to Miss Pitcairn, eldest daughter of the late Major Pitcairn, of the marines. [xxxvii. 376.]

"*Langholm, Jan.* 28. On Friday last were married, at Billholmburn, near this place, William Duncan and Elisabeth Graham. There was present upon the occasion a very considerable company. The afternoon was spent in decent mirth, with the usual ceremonies on such an occasion. On the morning following the friends came to visit them, and found them in perfect health and good spirits;—but, alas! how uncertain is every earthly enjoyment! the bride was seized with a cholic about eleven o'clock, which carried her off about ten this morning. I dare not attempt to describe the bridegroom's situation, but shall leave that to readers of feeling."

BIRTHS.

Feb. 1. At Edinburgh, Mrs Campbell of Carradale, of a son.

26 At London, the Countess of Carlisle, of a daughter.

DEATHS.

Feb. 1 At Wansford, near Driffield, Yorkshire, John Manners, commonly called *my Lord Manners*, aged 100 years. His housekeeper, Mercy Luckup, died the day after, aged 89. These old people milked two cows, and managed their household business, without any assistance, till within these two months.

1. At Montrose, John Ouchterlony of Guynd, Esq;

2. At London, in the 68th year of his age, Francis Hayman, Esq; librarian to the royal academy. He was one of the oldest artists in G. Britain.

2. At Aberdeen, in the 82d year of his age, and 55th of his ministry, Mr James Ogilvie, one of the ministers of that city.

2. At Dunolly, Argyleshire, aged 80, Mrs Mary Macdonald, relict of John Macdougal of Macdougal, Esq; and niece to Sir Donald Macdonald, Bt.

At Maryborough, Ireland, Mr James Hallam, aged 102.

3. At Kensington, the Countess of Salisbury.

3. At Langholm, aged 125 years, Mr James Mowat, surgeon there.

4. Michael Hudson, Esq; Lieutenant-Colonel in the 3d regiment of foot-guards.

5. At Dundee, Sir James Kinloch-Nevay, Bt.

5. At Edinburgh, Mrs Mary Hay, spouse to Maurice Trent, Esq; of Pitcullo.

7. William Rorison, Esq; of Ardoch.

7. At London, William Hamilton, Esq; by whose death a considerable fortune goes to his nephew the Earl of Wigton.

9. At Edinburgh, Mrs Wallace, relict of the Rev. Dr Wallace of that city. [xxxiii. 391.]

9. At Hoscoat, Roxburghshire, George Pott, Esq; of Hoscoat.

At Calais, the Hon. George West, brother of Lord Delaware, and colonel of the 58th regiment of foot.

At Udach, near Turriff, in the 86th year of his age, and 65th of a married life with one woman, John Henderson of Balmade, Esq; chamberlain to the late Countess of Erroll.

11. At Edinburgh, Mrs Elisabeth Falconer, sister of David Falconer, Esq; Advocate.

11. At Leny, Mrs Elisabeth Buchanan of Leny, widow of the late Francis Buchanan, Esq; of Arnprior, in the 75th year of her age.

12. At Contentibus, the Hon. Mrs Sandilands.

14. At London, the Earl of Granville. His Lordship has left all his fortune to the Hon. Mr Thynne, brother to Lord Weymouth.

16. Mrs Margaret Robertson, spouse to Robert Hunter, Esq; of Thurston.

17. At Perth, George Wilson of Hilltown, Esq;

17. At Aberdeen, in an advanced age, Mr George Cruikshank, merchant of that city.

17. At Dauchmaluack, Rossshire, Alexander Mackenzie of Dauchmaluack, Esq;

18. At Milntown, near Calender in Monteith, aged 81, Robert Campbell of Torrie, Esq;

20. At Islington, Mr Joseph Collyer, translator of the Messiah and Noah from the German.

21. At Edinburgh, Mr William Gilchrist, goldsmith and jeweller, aged 74.

24. At Knowesly, Lancashire, the Earl of Derby, in the 86th year of his age. His Lordship is succeeded in title and estate by his grandson, Lord Stanley, member for the county of Lancaster.

26. At Ditto, the Countess-dowager of Derby. She survived her husband but two days.

27. At Edinburgh, Mrs Elisabeth Blackwood, widow of David Monypenny, Esq; of Pitmillie.

PREFERMENTS.

From the London Gazette.

The King has been pleased.

Feb. 10. to constitute and appoint Henry Earl Bathurst, Chancellor of Great Britain, to be High Steward of Great Britain, for the trial of Elisabeth, calling herself Duchess-dowager

dowager of Kingſton, upon an indictment of bigamy, found againſt her by the grand jury of the county of Middleſex.

— to appoint David Roſs, Eſq; [one of the Principal Clerks of Seſſion], to be one of the ordinary Lords of Seſſion in Scotland, in the room of Lord Alemoor, deceaſed.

— 24. to grant unto the Rt Hon. Henry Frederick Thynne the office of Bailiff of the iſland of Jerſey.

— 27. to appoint Fletcher Norton, Eſq; to be one of the Barons of the Exchequer in Scotland, on the reſignation of George Winn, Eſq;

Admiralty-office, February 5. 1776.

This day, in purſuance of the King's pleaſure, the following Flag-Officers of his Majeſty's fleet [xxxvii. 168] were promoted, viz.

Sir James Douglas, Kt, George Lord Edgecumbe, Samuel Graves, Eſq; William Parry, Eſq; and the Hon. Auguſtus Keppel, Vice-Admirals of the White, — to be Vice-Admirals of the Red.

John Amherſt, Eſq; his Royal-Highneſs Henry-Frederick Duke of Cumberland, Sir Peter Denis, Bt, Mathew Buckle, Eſq; and Robert Man, Eſq; Vice-Admirals of the Blue,—and Clark Gayton, Eſq; Rear Admiral of the Red, — to be Vice-Admirals of the White.

John Montagu, Eſq; Sir Robert Harland, Bt, and James Sayer, Eſq; Rear-Admirals of the Red, — and Richard Lord Viſcount Howe, Waſhington Earl Ferrers, Hugh Pigot, Eſq; and Molineux Shuldam, Eſq; Rear-Admirals of the White, — to be Vice-Admirals of the Blue.

John Vaughan, Eſq; Rear-Admiral of the White, — and John Lloyd, Eſq; and Robert Duff, Eſq; Rear-Admirals of the Blue, —to be Rear-Admirals of the Red.

John Reynolds, Eſq; and Sir Hugh Palliſer, Bt, Rear-Admirals of the Blue, — to be Rear-Admirals of the White.

War-office, Jan. 30. 1776. *continued.* [56.]

16th reg. of dragoons: William Auguſtus Eygrave, Gent. to be Cornet.

Ditto: Andrew Carmichael, Gent. to be ditto.

Ditto: James Grant, Gent. to be ditto.

Ditto: Quartermaſter —— Evart, of the 4th, horſe, to be ditto.

Ditto: Quartermaſter Joſeph Warcham to be ditto.

Ditto: Quartermaſter Laurence Staples to be ditto.

17th reg. of dragoons: Enſ. William St Leger, of the 45th, foot, to be Cornet.

Ditto: David Ogilvy, Gent. to be ditto.

Ditto: ——— Sloper, Gent. to be ditto.

Ditto: Quartermaſter —— St Clair, of the 7th, dragoons, to be ditto.

Ditto: Quartermaſter Peter Anderſon to be ditto.

Ditto: Quartermaſter John Hamilton of the 2d, dragoons, to be ditto.

1ſt reg. of foot-guards: Lt-Col. Robert Seymour Conway to be Captain of a company, vice Sir David Lindſay, preferred.

Ditto: Capt. George Lake to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Robert Seymour Conway.

Ditto: Enſ. Kingſmill Evans to be Lieutenant, vice George Lake.

Ditto: ——— Ogilvie, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Kingſmill Evans.

3d reg. of foot-guards: Lieut. Andrew Robinſon, of the 32d, foot, to be Enſign, vice William Hawtayne; by purchaſe.

Royals, 1ſt batt.: Hugh Lamont, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Daniel Wilſon, preferred.

Ditto 2d batt.: Enſ. Duncan Campbell to be Lieutenant, vice Robert Bennett; by purchaſe.

4th reg. of foot: William Weſt, Gent. to be Enſign, vice George Evelyn Boſcawen, preferred.

Ditto: Enſ. Forbes Champagne to be Lieutenant, vice Edward Gould, who retires.

5th reg. of foot: Lieut. Benjamin Hill to be Adjutant, vice Benjamin Baker, reſigned.

12th reg. of foot: Lieut. John Perryn to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice John Gape; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Enſ. Charles Haſtings to be Lieutenant, vice John Perryn; by purchaſe.

Ditto: John Perryn, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Charles Haſtings; by purchaſe.

15th reg. of foot: Maj. John Bird, of the 19th, foot, to be Lieutenant-Colonel, vice Joſeph Gabbet, preferred.

18th reg. of foot: Maj. Adam Williamſon, of 61ſt, foot, to be Lieutenant-Colonel, vice John Wilkins; by purchaſe.

23d reg. of foot: Sec.-Lieut. Richard Julian to be Firſt Lieuteannt, vice John Leuthal; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Thomas De Saumarez, Gent. to be Second Lieutenant, vice Richard Julian; by purchaſe.

29th reg. of foot: Henry Stanley Monk, Gent. to be Enſign, vice ——— Cadogan, preferred.

33d reg. of foot: Capt.-Lieut. Thomas Greening to be Captain, vice George Burnett, deceaſed.

Ditto: Lieut. William Gore to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Thomas Greening.

Ditto: Enſ. Thomas Gorges to be Lieutenant, vice William Gore.

37th reg. of foot: Lieut. Francis Graham to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice James Elliott.

Ditto: Enſ. Eyre Coote to be Lieutenant, vice Francis Graham.

38th

38th reg. of foot: William Harling, Gent. to be Enſign, vice John Gray, reſigned.

Ditto: Charles Blount, Gent. to be Enſign, vice James Darcus, reſigned.

39th reg. of foot: —— Johnſtone, Gent. to be Enſign, vice George Nugent, preferred.

40th reg. of foot: James Carmichael, Gent. to be Quartermaſter, vice William Montgomery, reſigned.

46th reg. of foot: Thomas Reeves, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Winthropp Roach.

47th reg. of foot: William Paxton, Gent. to be Quartermaſter, vice John Philpot, retired.

50th reg. of foot: Enſ. Thomas Wrixon to be Lieutenant, vice Henry Oliphant, retired.

Ditto: Verſey Knox, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Thomas Wrixon.

59th reg. of foot: Col. Sir David Lindſay to be Colonel, vice John Owen, deceaſed.

63d reg. of foot: Joſeph Dalton, Gent. to be Quartermaſter, vice Pierce Harvey, reſigned.

Ditto: Enſ. George Evelyn Boſcawen, of the 4th, foot, to be Lieutenant, vice William Hamilton.

65th reg of foot: Enſ. Zachary Bayly to be Lieutenant, vice John Hales; by purchaſe.

Lt-Col. Henry St John to be Aid de Camp to the King, vice Sir David Lindſay.

Capt. John Treby, of 43d, foot, to be Major in the army.

Maj. William Sherriffe to be Lieutenant-Colonel in the army.

Capt.-Lieut. James Eliott, of the 37th, foot, to be Town Major of Berwick, vice Samuel Rogers, deceaſed

Lt-Gen. George Auguſtus Eliott to be Governor of Gibraltar, vice Edward Cornwallis, deceaſed.

War-office, Feb. 13.

3d reg. of dragoons: Corn. Criſp Chandler Gaſcoyne is appointed to be Lieutenant, vice Nathaniel Curzon; by purchaſe.

Ditto: John Whitley O'Carroll, Gent. to be Cornet, vice Criſp Chandler Gaſcoyne; by purchaſe.

6th reg of dragoons: Lieut. William Elliot to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice Thomas Robinſon; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Corn William Clowes to be Lieutenant, vice William Elliot: by purchaſe.

Ditto: Enſ. Charles Edward Repington, of the 11th, foot, to be Cornet, vice William Clowes; by purchaſe.

10th reg of dragoons: Thomas Monerieffe, Gent. to be Cornet, vice Everard Fawkener, preferred; by purchaſe.

11th reg. of dragoons: Corn. Everard Fawkner, of the 10th, dragoons, to be Lieutenant, vice John Campbell; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Corn. Frank Moore to be Lieutenant, vice George Warrender; by purchaſe.

Ditto: George Mitchell, Gent. to be Cornet, vice Frank Moore; by purchaſe.

Royals, 2d battallion: Lieut. Peter Hunt to be Captain, vice Hugh Montgomery; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Enſ. James Graham to be Lieutenant, vice Peter Hunter; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Capt. Henry Balfour to be Major, vice John Hill; by purchaſe.

10th reg. of foot: Oliver Moore, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Mathew Welſh.

23d reg. of foot: Second Lieut. John Wilſon to be Firſt Lieutenant, vice John Ridley, preferred; by purchaſe.

Ditto: John Coghlon, Gent. to be Second Lieutenant, vice John Wilſon; by purchaſe.

29th reg. of foot: Enſ. James Kirkman to be Adjutant, vice John Roberts.

Ditto: Lt-Col. Patrick Gordon, of the late 108th, foot, to be Lieutenant-Colonel, vice Maurice Carr, who retires.

33d reg. of foot: Æneas M'Donnell, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Thomas Gorges, preferred.

Ditto: Lieut. Frederick Cornwallis to be Captain, vice John Dyke Ackland; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Enſ. Peter Elwin to be Lieutenant, vice Frederick Cornwallis; by purchaſe.

48th reg. of foot: George Rutherford, Gent. to be Enſign, vice John Boſcawen Savage; by purchaſe.

59th reg. of foot: George Darby, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Robert Gardiner, preferred.

61ſt reg. of foot: Capt. John Acklom to be Major, vice Adam Williamſon, preferred; by purchaſe.

O'Hara's Corps, ſerving in Africa: Lieut. John Lang to be Captain, vice Joſias Paterſon.

Ditto: Enſ. William Lacey to be Lieutenant, vice John Lang.

Ditto: George Fall, Gent. to be Enſign, vice William Lacey.

Ditto: Enſ. Robert Seymour to be Lieutenant, vice John Sugden, deceaſed.

Ditto: Padget Wall, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Robert Seymour.

War-office, Feb. 20.

Royal reg. of horſe-guards: Lieut. Guſtavus Belford is appointed to be Captain-Lieutenant, vice John Pate Lyſter; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Corn. Edward Holland to be Lieutenant, vice Guſtavus Belford; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Corn. George Fitz-William, of 6th dragoons, to be Cornet, vice Edward Holland; by purchaſe.

7th reg. of dragoons: Corn. Sir Nathaniel Dukinfield to be Lieutenant, vice William Tuffnell; by purchaſe.

1ſt reg. of foot-guards: Capt. John Woodford to be Captain of a Company, vice Samuel Wollaſton; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Enſ Colin Campbell to be Lieutenant, vice John Woodford; by purchaſe.

Ditto: George Keene Hayward Couſſmaker, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Colin Campbell; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Enſ. —— Finch to be Adjutant, vice John Woodford.

Ditto: Capt. William Charles Farrell Skeffington to be Captain of a Company, vice William Hudſon; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Corn. Henry Fitzroy Stanhope, of 15th dragoons, to be Lieutenant, vice William Charles Farrel Skeffington; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Enſ. Walter Strickland to be Lieutenant, vice Nicholas Nugent.

Ditto: Thomas Van, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Walter Strickland; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Enſ. Henry Fanſhawe to be Lieutenant, vice William Leeves; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Anthony Hardolph Fyre, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Henry Fanſhawe; by purchaſe.

Ditto: John Douglas, Gent. to be Enſign, vice John Milbank; by purchaſe.

Coldſtream reg. of foot-guards: Enſ William Tomkins to be Lieutenant, vice Richard Byron; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Bertie Greathead, Gent. to be Enſign, vice William Tomkins; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Enſ. Thomas Willet Saltren to be Lieutenant, vice Henry Briſtow; by purchaſe.

Ditto: George Mathew, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Thomas Willet Saltren; by purchaſe.

3d reg. of foot-guards: Capt. William Grinfield to be Captain of a Company, vice John Neale; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Enſ Charles Adams to be Lieutenant, vice William Grinfield; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Francis Sacheverel Stead, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Charles Adams; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Capt. Sir Francis Carr Clerke to be Adjutant, vice William Grinfield.

Ditto: Capt. Thomas Fowke to be Captain of a Company, vice Frederick Hollingſworth; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Enſ Arnoldus J. Skelton to be Lieutenant, vice Thomas Fowke; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Charles Chriſtopher Vandenburg, Gent. to be Enſign, vice Arnoldus Jones Skelton; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Enſ William Anne Douglas to be Lieutenant, vice Alexander Murray; by purchaſe.

Ditto: George Milner, Gent. to be Enſign, vice William Anne Douglas; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Enſ. Naſſau Thomas to be Lieutenant, vice Nicholas Lechmere; by purchaſe.

Ditto: Capt.-Lieut. John Lord Kirkcudbright, of the 30th reg. to be Lieutenant, vice Charles Henry Cadogan.

23d reg. of foot: Second Lieut. John Blucke to be Firſt Lieutenant, vice Onſlow Beckwith, preferred; by purchaſe.

[*To be continued.*]

From other papers.

Robert Campbell of Aſkniſh, Eſq; Advocate, is appointed Sheriff-Depute of Argyleſhire, in the room of Archibald Campbell of Stonefield, Eſq; who has reſigned.

Bannantyne William Macleod, Eſq; Advocate, is appointed Sheriff-Depute of Bute.

James Clark, author of the late treatiſe on the ſhoeing of horſes, and the diſeaſes of their feet [40.], is appointed Farrier to his Majeſty for Scotland.

Cathcart Boyd is appointed Examiner and Accomptant of Salt and Fiſhery accompts in Scotland.

New Members.

Mr Watſon, for Heydon, in the room of Sir Charles Saunders, deceaſed.

Hon. Frederick Stewart, ſon of the Earl of Bute, for the boroughs of Ayr, &c. in the room of Sir George M'Cartney, appointed governor of Grenada.

Lord Mulgrave, for Huntingdon, in the room of the Hon. Mr Montague, deceaſed.

Prices of grain at Haddington, March 8. 1776.

	Beſt.	*Second.*	*Third.*
Wheat,	19 s. 0 d.	18 s. 3 d.	17 s 6 d.
Bear,	14 s. 0 d.	13 s. 4 d.	12 s. 6 d.
Oats,	10 s. 3 d.	9 s. 6 d	8 s. 9 d.
Peaſe,	10 s. 4 d.	9 s. 9 d.	8 s. 0 d.

Edinburgh, Mar. 22. 1776. Oat meal, 9 d. 2 f. Bear-meal, 6 d. 2 f. Peaſe-meal, 6 d 2 f.

The Edinburgh bill of burials for February 1776.

Within the city	Males 37, Fem. 46	83	129. Decr 21.	
In the Weſt-kirk-yard	Males 19, Fem. 27	46		

Age.			No.	Diſeases.		No.
Under		2	30	Aged	——	20
Between	2	& 5	12	Aſthma	——	6
	5	& 10	6	Bowelhive	——	5
	10	& 20	7	Chincough	——	6
	20	& 30	9	Conſumption	——	36
	30	& 40	10	Cramp	——	1
	40	& 50	8	Dropſy	——	2
	50	& 60	13	Fever	——	29
	60	& 70	16	Flux	——	1
	70	& 80	10	Swelling	——	1
	80	& 90	7	Small pox	——	8
	90	& 100	1	Still born	——	2
				Suddenly	——	3
				Teething	——	12